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Literary and Miscellaneous.

THE SOUTH AND THE UNION.

THE UNION, PAST AND PRESENT.—HOW IT WORKS AND HOW TO SAVE IT.

While the free States have been such large gainers by the earnings of the slaveholders, diverted from the hands of the natural owners by the fiscal action of the federal government upon foreign commerce, they have profited in no smaller proportion in the adjustment of taxation. When the planter, either directly or indirectly, through the agency of merchants and factors, exports his cotton, tobacco, rice, or breadstuffs, he receives payment in foreign goods, which he must bring back as imports; and when he passes the custom-house at home, he has to pay a part of these returns for duties. Thus far the tax falls entirely upon him; and if we stop here in our reasoning, it is plain that the duties are paid by the different sections in the exact ratio of the exports of their produce; for it does not matter that the producer may sell his tobacco, cotton, &c., to some merchant at home, who afterwards is the actual exporter. The price which that merchant can give plainly depends on what he can sell for again; and that depends upon the value of the imports he has to take in payment, after deducting all expenses and duties, which must therefore come out of the planter at last, just as if he exported and imported directly. Nor can the producer escape the duties by taking in return for his exports money, which he does not want, instead of the goods, which he needs; for it would be asking an impossibility to demand nothing but specie in payment, when the exports of cotton alone are considerably more than the whole annual produce of gold and silver in the world. But the question here is, not what the producer *could* do, but what he *actually* did. The records show, that he was really paid for his exports in foreign goods, and that duties have been paid upon these to an amount over a billion of dollars; and this enormous sum the producer must have paid when he had to surrender a part of the value of his imports to

government as he entered them. There is but one way in which he could have escaped, and that is, by selling the part left for as much as the whole was worth before, and, by thus raising the price, throw the whole tax upon the consumer. But, in this case, the south must have paid a still greater share of the duties than before; for not only is she a much larger consumer of foreign merchandize than the north, but if the price of the imported article is raised, so must be the price of the similar article of domestic manufacture. And the south would pay three or four times as much in this shape to the northern manufacturer as she would to government in the form of duties. It is true that the increased price of domestic goods would also be paid by the northern consumer, but with this important difference, that what was paid would be spent amongst themselves, and so, in a manner, returned to their pockets, as the factories are scattered through their country, while, to the south, it would be a dead loss. This view of the effect of duties has been pressed by the advocates of free trade, and rejected by their opponents; and, as we wish to proceed upon undisputed principles, we shall adopt the other horn of the dilemma, and assume that the duties are paid by the producers, and the several sections, in the ratio of their produce exported. This course is also more agreeable to our determination to calculate southern burdens and northern profits at the lowest possible figures, for there can be no doubt that the other view of the incidence of duties would at least triple the sum paid by the south. At the same time it is proper to say, that, in our belief, the duties are paid partly by the producer and partly by the consumer; that, so far as the latter pays them, he pays three or four times as much more in the increased price of similar goods of domestic manufacture; and so far as the former pays them, he loses more—often vastly more—in the value of all that part of his produce sold at home, which must be lowered to the exact level of the value of what is sold abroad. Hence, the mere nominal amount of duties paid to the federal government is the least part of the real burden on the south, whether we consider her as a producer of the exports, or a consumer of the return imports. But we shall, nevertheless, confine ourselves to the very moderate principle of calculation we set out with, so as to say nothing that is not absolutely certain.

The whole amount of duties collected from the year 1791 to June 30, 1845, after deducting the drawbacks on foreign merchandize exported, was \$927,050,097. Of this sum the slaveholding States paid \$711,200,000, and the free States

only \$215,850,097. Had the same amount been paid by the two sections in the constitutional ratio of their federal population, the south would have paid only \$394,707,917, and the north \$532,342,180. Therefore, the slaveholding States paid \$316,492,083 more than their just share, and the free States as much less. They were **FREE** indeed!—not only of slaves, but of taxes! By carrying our calculation down to 1849, the sum of 316 millions is raised to 330 odd millions. In the following table we may see at a glance how this taxation fell on the respective population of the north and south in each decennial period:

Table of the taxes annually paid in duties to the federal government by a family of six persons.

In each year from	1790-1800	1801-10	1811-20	1821-30	1831-40	1841-5	1846-9
In the slave States.	\$12 96	\$18 78	\$19 44	\$20 82	\$16 44	\$13 21	\$14 68
In the free States.	6 75	8 14	6 22	4 28	2 57	2 50	3 88
Difference...	6 21	10 64	13 22	16 54	13 87	10 71	10 80

In the first period, the southern family paid not quite twice as much to the support of the general government as the northern family of the same size; in the third, a little more than three times as much; in the fourth, near five times as much; and in the fifteen years, from 1831 to 1845, about six times as much!

In the only other branch of the public revenue of any size, the disproportion of northern and southern contributions has been still more enormous. We refer to the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, which amounted on January 1, 1849, to the round sum of 137 millions of dollars. Seventy-nine of these millions came from the sale of lands in the old northwest territory, the free gift of Virginia for the sake of the Union, for which she has neither asked or received one cent. About 33 millions more were from the sales of lands in Alabama and Mississippi, north of latitude 31°, and within the cession by Georgia, making in all out of the 137 millions, 112 that were contributed by the slaveholding States. We may fairly add to this account 13 millions, the value of lands granted for various purposes to the northwestern States within their limits, making a total of 125 millions given by Virginia and Georgia to the free States. But it may be said that if this sum had not gone into the federal treasury from lands it must have been raised by direct taxation, and the southern States

would have paid their share. Well, deduct that share, which would have been 47 millions, and we still have left the very handsome gratuity of 78 millions, which the slave States, or rather Virginia and Georgia, gave the north in order to form the Union!

How have all these taxes been spent? Has the south received, in the disbursements of the federal government, any compensation for the very disproportionate share she contributed to its revenue? And first, as to the public lands.

Large quantities of these lands have been given for internal improvements to the States in which they lie, and such grants were, therefore, confined to the new or *land* States. It appears, from a table which we have carefully prepared from the latest official documents, that the new free States have received in this way 5,474,475 acres, worth, at the actual average price of the public lands sold within their several boundaries, \$7,584,899; while the new slave States have received only 3 millions of acres, worth \$4,025,000—that is, there has been granted to the new free States 18.5 acres to every square mile of their surface, while the new slave States have had only 9.3 acres to the square mile. The disproportion is still greater in the older States, where the system has been longer at work. Thus, Louisiana has received 10.8 acres, Alabama 9.8, and Missouri only 7.4; while Ohio has had 29.6, and Indiana 47.6, (nearly one-thirteenth part,) to improve every square mile of their respective areas. The proportion will be somewhat diminished if we add the donations for schools which were made by virtue of a general law; but even then, the free States have received 38.9 acres to the square mile, and the slave States only 27.7.*

We cannot trace all the expenditures of the federal government, so as to determine the exact amount in each section. There are no published documents to furnish the necessary data. But, fortunately, the distinction can be made in some branches of federal disbursements, usually classed as miscellaneous, and from these we may judge of the rest.

A report of the Secretary of the Treasury, (460 Ex. Doc. 1837-'8,) shows, that in the five years, 1833-'7, out of 102 millions of expenditures, only 37 millions were in the slave States. Yet, during the same years, our table shows that they paid 90 millions of duties to 17½ paid by the free States. Therefore, while all that the north contributed to the support of the Union was spent within her own borders, she enjoyed

* Our calculations are founded on the report of the Commissioner of the Land Office, 1848-'9.

the additional expenditure of 53 millions, or \$10,600,000 a year, levied on the south.

An examination of the Secretary's report will show that even this statement does not give a just idea of the inequality. A better notion may be formed by investigating in detail some branches of expenditure of which we have full accounts.

The collection of the customs revenue is a large and increasing item in the federal expenses. It gives salaries to a great number of officers; at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, alone, there are 1,123, and it is the indirect source of subsistence to six times as many persons. These expenditures have amounted in all, from the formation of the government to the year 1849, to 53 millions of dollars, of which only 10 millions have been at the south. Yet the slave States have paid at least seven-ninths, or 41 millions, of these expenses, so that the free States had the benefit for their citizens in custom-house offices, revenue cutters, &c., not only of their own payments, 12 millions, but of 31 millions paid by the south.

The bounties on pickled fish, and the allowances to fishing vessels, have amounted, in round numbers, to 10 millions of dollars. Nearly every cent of this large sum has gone to the free States, chiefly to New England. The records show that slaveholders have not received so much of it as \$150,000. Yet these very slaveholders have paid, of these bounties and charities to the north, no less than \$7,800,000.

While \$838 76 have been spent by the federal government in defending with forts each mile of the northern coast line, from the river St. John's, in Maine, to Delaware bay, only \$545 17 per mile has been devoted to the southern coast to the Sabine, up to June 30th, 1846, the latest period for which there are official returns. More than six-elevenths of the expenditures on the southern coast have been in fortifying the Chesapeake bay and the mouth of the Mississippi, that is, the access to the seat of government, and the great outlet of northwestern commerce. It is fair, therefore, to deduct what was spent at these points, which leaves only \$416 89 spent per mile in fortifications on the Atlantic coast of the slave States, from North Carolina to Mississippi, inclusive. Yet, while the south has not had half as much expended in her defence as the north, she has paid some 14 out of 18 millions of dollars devoted to these objects.—(See off. rep. to the Senate, 79 Senate Doc., 1846-'7.

The light-house system exhibits the same inequality. The appropriations for erecting light-houses for the year ending

June 30, 1847, (see 27 Ex. Doc., 1847-'8,) were \$60 01 for each mile of the Atlantic shore to the north, and \$29 79, not quite half, for each mile of shore to the south, from Delaware to Texas! The difference is still greater, if we consider the whole coast line, including islands and rivers to the head of tide. The north had \$29 62 to light every such mile, and the south \$9 23, not one-third. The expense of supporting the existing light-houses in the same year, (see 7 Ex. Doc., 1847-'8,) on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, was \$476,642. Of this, the south paid at least \$360,000; yet she received only \$187,830, equal to \$26 70 per mile on her dangerous shore from the Delaware to the Rio Grande, or \$8 28 per mile of her whole coast line. The balance, \$172,170, of her payment went to assist the north, who spent but \$116,642 of her own money in lighting her shore at a cost of \$87 65 per mile, or including rivers and islands, of \$43 27 per mile. In the year 1833, there was, (see 27 Ex. Doc., 1837-'8,)—

At the north, 1 light-house to every 32.6 miles of northern shore, and to every 66.1 miles of coast.

At the south, 1 light-house to every 108.8 miles of northern shore, and to every 370.1 miles of coast.

At the north, 1 lamp to every 2.9 miles of northern shore, and to every 5.9 miles of coast.

At the south, 1 lamp to every 8.6 miles of northern shore, and to every 29.3 miles of coast.

In 1839, there was, (see 140 Ex. Doc., 1841-'2,)—

At the north 1 light-house to every 24.8 miles of shore, and to every 50.2 miles of coast.

At the south 1 light-house to every 81.2 miles of shore, and to every 276.4 miles of coast.

At the north 1 lamp to every 2.4 miles of shore, and to every 4.9 miles of coast.

At the south 1 lamp to every 6.8 miles of shore, and to every 23.4 miles of coast.

Scarcely half as many lamps as the north had light-houses! And yet at this time the south was paying five-sixths of the revenue. The proportions in other years are not materially different; we might multiply examples at pleasure. (See the annual reports.)

Another fruitful source of expense, which threatens to grow larger, is the internal improvement system, and, like all the rest, it bears with peculiar weight upon the south. Before the year 1845, (see 44 Sen. Doc., 1846-'7,) there had been spent upon roads, harbors, and rivers, (exclusive of the Mississippi and Ohio, which are common to both sections,) the sum of \$15,201,223. Of this sum, the south received \$451 to improve each ten miles square of her area, equal to \$2,757,816, while \$12,743,407, that is, \$2,805 for each ten miles square was allotted to the north. The south paid not only all that she ever received back in these appropriations, but

also \$10,142,184, for the exclusive benefit of the north. The cost of the forty-eight miles of the Cumberland road in Maryland and Virginia, \$1,020,239, is included, for that road was designed for the northwest. But if it is deducted, there are still left \$9,121,945, paid by southern labor for the internal improvements of the north.

The history of this system illustrates a rule to which history offers no exception, that a tribute grows with the strength of the collectors. Before 1824, the only appropriation of any considerable size for internal improvements was \$607,000 for the Cumberland road, east of the Ohio river. About that time, the north became stronger by a new apportionment of representation, and the unfortunate concession on the Missouri question encouraged her to new encroachments upon the south. From 1824 to 1833, inclusive, the federal government gave for internal improvements to the free States \$5,194,441, or \$1,145 per ten miles square, and to the slaveholding States only \$957,100, or \$157 per ten miles square. From 1834 to 1845, inclusive, the north received \$7,231,639, or \$1,593 per ten miles square, and the south \$1,171,500, or \$192 for the same area. In the first period the north received from the treasury 7.2 times as much as the south; in the next period, 8.3 times as much. In the first period the south paid, over and above what was given back to her, \$3,642,900 to improve the north and \$5,731,000 in the second period, an increase on the yearly average of 31 per cent.

The inequality was especially great amongst the old thirteen States.

New England received \$1,101,730, equal to \$1,715, to improve every ten miles square.

New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, received \$5,226,350, equal to \$5,234, to improve every ten miles square.

The old plantation States, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, received \$653,100, equal to \$320, to improve every ten miles square.

This needs no comment.

The presidential veto has arrested these appropriations since 1845. Congress, however, passed bills, which gave still more to the north and still less to the south. The estimates from the Treasury Department this winter are of the same character, for which we impute no blame to the administration; it well knows, that nothing more equal could receive the sanction of Congress, as now constituted.

The coast survey had cost not much less than a million of dollars in 1845, and had been almost entirely confined to the northern coast, though the north had only 6,675 miles of coast line to the south's 21,021.

It is generally, and perhaps justly, supposed that the post office system works more equally between the sections than any other part of the federal administration. Yet, in 1846, the mails were transported 21,373,000 miles in the free States, or 47 miles to every square mile of their area, and only 16,025,000 miles, or 26 miles to each square mile in the south. In 1847, there were 9,599 postmasters in the north, and only 5,664 in the south, though their population is as 97 to 73, and their areas (exclusive of Texas) as 45 to 61.* There is, in fact, a general disposition at the north to look to federal expenditures as a means of support; and there is a constant press on the administration to multiply offices. Hence the immense rush for removals and scramble for the spoils at the incoming of every new President, and the cardinal maxim of northern party management—to govern by patronage and not by a reliance on principle. This maxim is utterly repugnant to southern feeling and practice.

The pension system throws a strong light on the tendency of the people of the free States to quarter themselves on the general government, at the same time that it shows the usual progressive inequality of expenditures between the two sections. A calculation, founded on data in 307 Sen. Doc., 1838-'9, shows that from 1791 to 1838, inclusive, \$35,598,964 had been paid for revolutionary pensions, of which the north received \$28,262,597, or \$127 29 for every soldier she had in the war, and the south \$7,336,367, being only \$49 89 for each of her soldiers. The number of soldiers is here estimated according to Knox's report, which, confessedly, does not show by a great deal the full exertions of the south in raising troops. Let us then compare the amounts received with the white population of each section in 1790, and we find the free States in 1838 had received \$14 35 of revolutionary pensions for every soul in their limits in the former year, while the south had received only \$5 61 for every white. But the military efforts of the slaveholding States were fully in proportion to their whole population, for the labor of the slaves on the plantations left a much larger proportion of their masters free to take up arms. On this supposition, the southern soldier received only \$3 74 for the same revolutionary services which brought the northern \$14 35. This gross inequality remains the same by whatever test it is tried. For example;

The seven free States contributed to the expenses of the war †	\$61,971,170
And had received in pensions, in 1838.....	28,262,597

Balance in their favor.....	33,708,573
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* See the annual reports.

† See the report of the commissioners to settle State accounts.

The six slave States contributed.....	\$52,438,123
And had received, in 1838.....	7,336,367

Balance in their favor.....	45,101,756
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Now let us see how it stands with single States:

Virginia contributed.....	\$19,085,982	ratio as \$100
And received in pensions, up to 1838.....	1,969,534	to 10.3
Massachusetts contributed.....	17,964,613	ratio as \$100
And received in the same time.....	4,058,031	to 22.8.
South Carolina contributed.....	11,523,299	ratio as \$100
And received in the same time.....	431,141	to 3.5.
New York contributed.....	7,179,983	ratio as \$100
And received in the same time.....	7,850,054	to 109.3.

To appreciate this injustice fully, we must remember that the south not only paid into the federal treasury all she ever received back in pensions, but also \$16,663,633 of the pensions given to the north. The inequality of the apportionment of these revolutionary pensions has grown with the northern majority in Congress. In the first decennial period, 1791-1800, the free States received annually \$58,000 more than the south. In the next period, this yearly excess was diminished to \$43,000, but it rose to \$339,000 in the third period. From 1821 to 1830 it averaged \$799,000, and from 1831 to 1838, \$855,000. In like manner grew the burden upon the south in paying the pensioners at the north, besides those at home. In the first period it was \$417,449; in the second, \$370,000; in the third, \$3,000,000; in the fourth, \$7,500,000; and in the last period, (of only 8 years,) \$9,750,000.

According to General Knox's report, the north sent to the army 100 men for every 227 of military age in 1790, and the south 100 for every 209. But in 1848, 1 out of every 62 of the men of military age in 1790 was a revolutionary pensioner in the north, and only 1 out of 110 in the south. New England alone then had 3,146 of these pensioners, more than there were in all the slave States; and New York two-thirds as many, though she contributed not one-seventh as much to the war.

The results are equally remarkable, if we have regard to the whole number of pensions, revolutionary and other. The expenses under this head for the four years ending in 1837,* were \$8,010,051 in the free States, and \$2,588,101 in the slave States, who not only paid their own share, but \$6,300,000 to the north. New England alone received \$3,924,911, rather more than \$2 a head for every man, woman, and child in her limits. During the same four years she paid in taxes to the federal treasury, according to our tables, \$1 91 per head, so that she actually received more in pensions than she paid in

* See 460 Ex. Doc., 1837-'8.

taxes! In 1840 there were not quite two and a-half times as many pensioners at the north as the south, but in 1848 there were more than three times as many. New England had more revolutionary pensioners than the five old plantation States had pensioners of all kinds.

The public debt has been the source of yet more enormous benefits to the north. The payments on account of principal and interest had amounted in all, on the 30th of September, 1848,* to \$500,138,719. Of this sum the south had paid 112 millions of dollars from the lands ceded by her, as before shown, and 302 millions of the residue in duties on imports, making in all 414 millions, nearly the whole of which was paid at the north. The chief owners of this debt have been citizens of that section, partly because the funds yielded a higher profit than investments in their lands—partly because they could advantageously speculate in stocks, by means of the free use of the large southern capital, which, as we have shown, continually passed through their hands. The average payment of the federal debt by the south to the north has been over 7 millions of dollars a year. Well may the north say that "a national debt is a public blessing!"

The heads of the federal expenditures which we have examined give a fair notion of the rest; and it may be safely assumed, that while the south has paid seven-ninths of the taxes, the north has had seven-ninths of their disbursement. The military and naval expenses, the civil and diplomatic, are partly in salaries, but chiefly in contracts. As to the salaries, it is well known that the north receives much the most; and it is equally notorious that nearly all the contracts are given to her citizens. It may be supposed that they are the lowest bidders, and that if the southern bidders made better offers they would get the contracts. But before they can do so, they must be placed on an equal footing. The large capital which the south has in the foreign trade must be restored to the hands of her citizens, for it is the use of this capital, for which the northern man pays nothing, and the concentration by the federal fiscal action of all our commerce in his cities, that enable him to command all the lucrative contracts of government.

We have no means of computing the exact number of persons at the north who live upon the federal treasury. Far the larger part of the custom-house and land officers, as well as of the other civil officers, are in the free States. If we add

* See Treasury report, 1848-'9.

all these to the 20 odd thousand pensioners* and postmasters, the contractors, and the holders of the public debt, we shall be safe in estimating the persons at the north, who are directly dependant on the federal revenues, at 50,000. Add their families, and we have an army of 300,000 tax consumers in the free States, nearly all supported by the slaveholding tax payers.

Let us now compare the present condition of a northern and a southern parish, each containing 100 families of six persons. In the former, we shall find that there are some three of its families who derive the whole or a part of their income directly from the United States treasury, while there is no such family in the latter, if it be like the majority of the slaveholding communities of the same size. If the northern parish happen to be on the coast, every bay and inlet and creek has been carefully surveyed by the federal government, and lights shine every twenty odd miles along the shore, to protect its mariners. In the Southern parish the vessels must find their way through the shoals as they best can, for there has been no survey, and no warning beacon cheers the storm for hundreds of miles. The Union spends ten dollars in cutting roads and canals, cleaning rivers, and constructing harbors in the northern parish where it spends one in the southern. And to secure these benefits, the parish in the free States pays in taxes \$388, and receives back in disbursements \$1,360; while the same number of families in the slave States pay \$1,620, and receive only \$270. The excess of \$1,350 goes to be distributed amongst the northern parishes. This is not all, for the hundred families of the southern neighborhood are deprived of the profits of using over \$8,000 of their own cotton, tobacco, grain, &c, in order to let the hundred northern families use over \$5,000 of it a whole year free of charge. When the two parishes join in war against a common foe, the southern must send five times as many soldiers, and pay five times as much of the expenses; and yet, when the contest is over, it must suffer its partner to seize all the conquests, and at the same time to kidnap its property and attack its domestic peace. Can insolence—can tyranny go further? Or can history show a more degraded community than the southern must be, if it submits?

When we regard this course of taxation and disbursement, we cease to wonder at the growth of the cities at the north, or the palaces that cover her comparatively barren soil. Mc-

* In 1840, the pensioners alone at the north were over 31,000.

Culloch remarks that England's enormous expenditures during the great European war, in the beginning of this century, offered new employment and rewards to hundreds of her people, that the heavy taxes only served to stimulate their industry and invention, and that, as nearly all the public debt was due at home, it may well be doubted whether the whole effect was not to increase her wealth. However this may be, we can easily imagine how vast would have been her profits and prosperity, had these taxes all been paid by some foreign nation while she had the advantage of their disbursement, or how wretched and miserable would be her people, had the vast sums levied from them been expended for the benefit of strangers in far distant countries. Yet the first case is but a picture of the State of the north under our Union, as the last would be of the south, but for her great natural resources, and the recuperative energies of her people and her institutions. In this government forcing system, the genial climate and luxuriant growth of the south are transported, beneath wintry skies, to the rocks of New England. The primal curse is partly obliterated for them by federal agency, and the command is changed into "Thou shalt live by the sweat of the brow of the southern slaveholder." The wages of southern labor and the profits of southern capital are swept northward by this current of federal taxation and disbursement as steadily and more swiftly than the Gulf stream bears the waters of our shores. Well may the north declare that the Union is invaluable, and sing hymns to its perpetuity!

For all this crying injustice, the south has to blame her own weak concessions, as much as the grasping exactions of the north. The free States have only used their power for their own interest; and when has human nature ever been such that a strong majority would do otherwise?

"For why?—the good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That he should take who hath the power,
And he should keep who can!"

Perhaps the free States may, like Clive, when confessing the plunder of the east, marvel at its facility, and "stand astonished at their own moderation." The white population of the south has kept pure the blood of their revolutionary fathers. The few emigrants who have settled in the south have been quickly assimilated in character by the superior numbers of her people, and have thus added to her strength. Not so in the free States; their population has increased faster than at the south; but the difference is entirely due to the

emigrants of Europe, who are rapidly increasing in number. In 1840 the arrivals were under 100,000, and last year over 400,000 sought our shores, which number is greater than the whole natural increase of the people of the north. The tide cannot stop at this point. Mr Webster has proposed, and his proposal is approved by all who are eager to court the foreign vote, to give a quarter section of the public lands to every foreigner who may choose to settle on them. What countless swarms of needy adventures will pour out of the great European hive to accept the bounty! The free States can no longer assimilate such crowds to their natives; the superior numbers will overpower and change the native character. And it is for these strangers, to provide lands to be given away to all nations of the earth, that the citizens of the south are to be excluded from the common domain! The old likeness of interests, of character, and of feeling between the sections is fast wearing away under these influences. The free States are filled more and more with a manufacturing and town population; the slave States preserve the old country character. The people of the former are losing the revolutionary associations which were one of the bonds of our Union. If some still trace back to fathers who fought side by side with the ancestors of the southern people at Monmouth and at Eutaw, a still greater number can remember no such past; their sires were then in other lands, or perchance were here, but in the ranks of the foe. There is no sympathy, no common feeling among these people, to weigh against the deep-seated and growing hostility to the institutions of the slave States. Negro slavery, on the one hand, and what Alison calls, "the practical white slavery of factories" on the other, combine with these causes to make a yawning and ever widening gulf between the sections. Even constitutional guaranties are but parchment bulwarks against the assaults of selfish and superior power. When the parties are separated by widely variant social institutions, and by a growing opposition of character, sentiments, and interests, there can be no security for the weaker, short of a perfect equality in political power, and on that the south must insist, as wise old George Mason, one of Virginia's brightest lights, said:

"The majority will be governed by their interest! The southern States are the minority in both Houses. It is to be expected that they will deliver themselves bound hand and foot to the eastern States, and enable them to exclaim, in the words of Cromwell on a certain occasion, "the Lord has delivered them into our hands."

GEORGIA AND OHIO.

Mr. Stephens has demonstrated that Georgia, with less than half the population, with nearly a third less land in quantity, and less than a third in value, compared with Ohio, not only equalled, but exceeded, that State in her agricultural productions, according to the census returns of 1850.

These returns show that Ohio had of improved lands 9,854,492 acres—Georgia had only 6,378,479 acres; the cash value of the Georgia land, so improved and under culture was \$95,753,445, while the cash value of the Ohio lands was returned at \$358,758,603—Ohio had nearly one-third more land in a state of improvement than Georgia had, and returned at more than three times the cash value of the Georgia lands. The whole population of Ohio was 1,980,329, the whole population of Georgia white and black, was 906,185. The population of Ohio, therefore, was more than double that of Georgia. Here we see her free labor more than double in number, working one third more land, worth by valuation more than three times that of Georgia. From these elements it might not be surprising to see her agricultural products greatly exceeding those of Georgia, without resorting to the "curse of slavery," to account for it. But how stand the facts?

The aggregate value of the products of Ohio for 1849, as given in detail in the census, is \$38,137,695. The aggregate value of the products of Georgia for the same year is \$38,414,168. The values of the products of Ohio were furnished by Mr. Campbell himself, in a memorandum he prepared for Mr. Stephens two years ago, and consequently their correctness cannot be doubted. The result is the same—that is, it is on the side of Georgia—whether we take the home values of the articles produced, or the market prices at New York.

Upon the capital invested in the two States, the free labor of Ohio produces at the rates of 39 per cent. taking Mr. Campbell's figures; whereas the slave labor of Georgia produces at the rates of 64 per cent.

We are led to the same result, if we compare the railway enterprises of the two States. Mr. Campbell puts down the number of miles of railroad in Ohio at 2,367, while Georgia has but 884 by the census—that is, in 1850. This seems, at first view, to be very much in favor of the former State but let us look a little into the matter. We find, by turning to the *Railroad Journal*, and taking all the roads in Ohio and Georgia, the condition of which is given in that publication, that 1,071 miles of the Ohio roads, which have a capital of \$18,094,102, have also a *funded debt* of \$12,225,400; while

in Georgia 553 miles of her roads, as given by the *Journal*, the capital of which is \$9,099,975, have a funded debt of only \$732,401. From this it appears that the roads of Ohio are two-thirds unpaid for, whereas in Georgia less than one-twelfth of hers is unpaid for. If all the roads in each State, therefore, stand in a similar condition; or if the 1,071 in one, and 553 in the other, may be taken as a sample of the whole in each State, then Georgia has more road completed and *paid* for than Ohio has. Two-thirds of 2,367, the number of miles of the Ohio roads, is 1,578, which, taken from that sum, leaves only 789 miles in operation and paid for; while one-twelfth, taken from 884 miles of the Georgia roads, leave 811 miles completed and paid for. And why should we not subject these improvements to this test? We judge of a man's wealth, not only by what he has but what he owes. The same principle is equally applicable to corporations and to States.

A similar superiority is shown if we turn from the physical to the intellectual and moral statistics of the two commonwealths. There are 26 colleges in Ohio and 13 in Georgia. But Ohio has a white population of 1,955,050, while Georgia has but 521,572. Ohio, therefore, ought to have a number equal to the ratio of her population to that of Georgia; and upon this basis, the number of her colleges should be 48, instead of 26; so that she is really 22 behind what she ought to have been. Georgia, at her 13 colleges, by the census, has 1,535 pupils; and Ohio, to have as many in proportion to her population, ought to have 5,852, but, in fact, as the returns show, she has only 3,621. Georgia by the census has one pupil at college for every 339 of her entire white population, and Ohio has only one for every 539 of hers. In this particular, Georgia, by the census returns, is not only ahead of Ohio, but of every other State in the Union. And yet Ohio has received from the general government, for educational purposes, 773,000 acres of public lands, valued at over \$1,000,000; while Georgia has not received one cent.

The same is true of the number of church edifices in the two States. Georgia has over two churches to every 1,000 of her entire population, white and black, while Ohio has a fraction less than two to the same proportion of her population. On the other hand, the census shows that there are fewer paupers in Georgia, in proportion to population, than in Ohio, as well as much less crime. By the census, in Georgia, during the year for which the returns were taken, there were but 80 criminal convictions in the whole State; while in Ohio there were 843! There were, in Georgia, in the penitentiary, 89

convicts; in Ohio there were 406! and of these 406 then in prison for crime in Ohio, 44 of them were blacks! Forty-four, out of a free black population of 25,279.

Such is the result of a comparison between Ohio, the "giant of the west," if not the most prosperous State at the north, and Georgia, the "empire State of the south." Whatever else may be said of slavery, it does not appear that free labor is more productive, or that the institutions of the south at all interfere with the material, moral and intellectual development of her people.

WILLIAM CHAMBERS ON SLAVERY.

We have on several occasions, says the *Charleston Courier*, referred to the undue sensitiveness exhibited by Americans generally and by southerners especially to the opinions and judgments of others. Notwithstanding this error, however, it is but natural and just that we should feel some curiosity to know the opinions of those who endeavor at least to judge us from the stand point of impartial observation. It is difficult, indeed, to find such a stand point for American institutions, for our European travellers are more or less subject to influences that must insensibly bias the most liberal and candid. In reference to the great distinguishing feature of southern institutions and society, the difficulty is specially manifested, for the great, substantial and convincing arguments for African slavery are only to be appreciated after a full acquaintance with its practical workings and its resulting benefits to both races affected, whilst the prejudices against it are insensibly associated with and quickened by the very terms most familiarly employed in all languages which represent and embody to any degree the aim or the principal of constitutional government. The doctrines and principles and axioms which English progress and history have established, in relation to the civil and political liberty of the subject and the rights of rulers and subjects of the same race, are constantly misapplied by writers and speculators to the question of personal liberty, and to the economical nexus which unites capital and labor or master and workman.

We are led into this train of reflection by a cursory glance over *Chambers' Journal*, in which William Chambers, the senior editor and proprietor of that valuable and popular magazine, concludes his views on America, as suggested by his recent tour. With the candor and impartiality that might have been expected from his former labors, and his well known devotion

in the cause of sound knowledge, Mr. Chambers admits that, on more than one point, his views have been changed by actual observation. It is to be regretted that his range of observation was not more extended, and his visit more protracted, but it is one of the disadvantages of our position now, that practically, the foreign traveller judges of the *United States* by a hurried trip through a few northern States, where the facilities for speedy travel are better organized.

Mr. Chambers thinks that slavery is "stronger and more life-like than ever," and despite of apparent demonstrations and superficial symptoms, indicating the contrary, we doubt not that candid observers will agree with him. It is not practically and economically stronger, as representing large vested interests that must increase with the advancing ramifications of commerce, but it is also morally stronger. It has strengthened its hold on the minds and hearts of those who have been forced by rude assaults and fanatical menaces, to examine its foundations, and where we once *apologized* and *extenuated*, we now boldly *defend*.

Instead, however, of commenting on Mr. Chambers' views, and correcting the errors which are scarcely blamable in his position, we will let him speak for himself—only italicizing certain passages to which special attention is called.

"I repeat, it is difficult to understand what is the genuine public feeling on this entangled question; for with all the demonstrations in favor of freedom in the north, there does not appear in that quarter to be any practical relaxation of the usages which condemn persons of African descent to an inferior social status. There seems, in short, to be a fixed notion throughout the whole of the States, whether slave or free, *that the colored is by nature a subordinate race*; and that, in no circumstances, can it be considered equal to the white. Apart from commercial views, this opinion lies at the root of American slavery; and the question would need be argued less on political and philanthropic than on physiological ground. Previous to my departure from Richmond, in Virginia, I had an accidental conversation with a gentleman, a resident in that city, on the subject of slavery. This person gave it as his sincere opinion, founded on close observation, and a number of physiological facts, that negroes were an inferior species or variety of human beings, destined, or at least eminently suited, to be servants to the white and more noble race; that, considering their faculties, they were happier in a state of slavery than in freedom, or when left to their own expedients for subsistence; and that their sale and transfer was, from these

premises, legitimate and proper. Such opinions, are, perhaps, extreme; but, on the whole, I believe they pretty fairly represent the views of the south on the subject of slavery, which is considered to be not merely a conventional, but an *absolutely natural institution, sanctioned by the precept and example of ministers of the gospel*, and derived from the most remote usages of antiquity.

"It may have been merely a coincidence, but it is remarkable that all with whom I conversed in the States, on the distinctions of race, tended to the opinion that the negro was in many respects an inferior being, and his existence in America an anomaly. The want of mental energy and forethought, the love of finery and trifling amusements, distaste of persevering industry and bodily labor, as well as overpowering animal propensities, were urged as general characteristics of the colored population, and it was alleged, that when confined to their own resources, they do not successfully compete with the white Anglo-Americans, or with the immigrant Irish; the fact being added, that in slavery they increase at the same ratio as the whites, while in freedom, and affected with the vices of society, the ratio of increase falls short by one-third. Much of this was new to me, and I was not a little surprised to find, when speaking a kind word for at least a very unfortunate, if not a brilliant race, that the people of the northern States, though repudiating slavery, did not think more favorably of the negro character than those further south. Throughout Massachusetts, and other New England States, likewise in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, &c., there is a rigorous separation of the white and black races. In every city there are white and black schools, and white and black churches. No dark-skinned child is suffered to attend a school for white children. In Boston, celebrated for its piety and philanthropy, all the colored children are required to go to one school, however inconveniently situated it may be for some of them. This school was instituted in 1812, and the following is the existing ordinance respecting it: 'The colored population in the city not being sufficiently numerous to require more than one school, it has been thought proper to provide in this the means of instruction in all the branches of learning which are taught in the several schools for white children.' In New York there are nine public schools exclusively for colored children, besides a colored orphan asylum. In Providence, Rhode Island, it is ordained that 'there shall be three public schools maintained exclusively for the instruction of colored children, the grades thereof to be determined

from time to time by the school committee.' In Philadelphia there is a similar organization of district schools for colored children.

"As an explanation of these distinctions, I was informed that white would not sit beside colored children; and, further, that colored children, after a certain age, did not correspondingly advance in learning, their intellect being apparently incapable of being cultured beyond a particular point. From whatever cause, it was clear that a reluctance to associate with persons of negro descent was universally inculcated in infancy and strengthened with age. The result is a singular social phenomenon. We see, in effect, two nations—one white and another black—growing up together within the same political circle, but *never mingling on a principle of equality.*"

There is much more to the same effect, but the above will suffice. Here is the testimony of a stranger, whose prejudices of education and position were all against the institution, who is forced to admit that not one of the States who in theory and by their policy condemn the southern States has yet solved the problem. That problem is, giving whites and negroes existing together to determine the *best possible* relationship between them for the true interests of both.

The freesoil States have "equality," and they have stoutly and vociferously proclaimed it as their *eureka*; but in practice, and spirit, and effect, they say the reverse as truly as the most ultra slaveholding State or community.

In continuation, however, Mr. Chambers remarks:

"Glad to have had an opportunity of calling attention to many cheering and commendable features in the social system of the Americans, I consider it not less my duty to say that, in their general conduct towards the colored race, a wrong is done which cannot be alluded to except in terms of the deepest sorrow and reproach. I cannot think without shame of the pious and polished New Englanders adding to their offences on this score the guilt of hypocrisy. Affecting to weep over the sufferings of imaginary dark-skinned heroes and heroines; denouncing in well-studied platform oratory the horrid sin of reducing human beings to the abject condition of chattels; bitterly scornful of southern planters for hardhearted selfishness and depravity; fanatical on the subject of abolition; wholly frantic at the spectacle of fugitive slaves seized and carried back to their owners, these very persons are daily surrounded by manumitted slaves, or their educated descendants, yet shrink from them as if the touch were pollution, and look as if they would expire at the bare idea of inviting one of them to

their house or table. Until all this is changed the northern abolitionists place themselves in a false position, and do damage to the cause they espouse. If they think that negroes are men, let them give the world an evidence of their sincerity by moving the reversal of all those social and political arrangements which now in the free States exclude persons of color not only from the common courtesies of life, but from the privileges and honors of citizens. I say until this is done the uproar about abolition is a delusion and a snare. As things remain, the owners of slaves are furnished with the excuse that emancipation, besides being attended with no practical benefit, would be an act of cruelty to their dependants; for that the education given to free persons of color only aggravates the severity of their condition—makes them feel a sense of degradation from which, as slaves in a state of ignorance, they are happily exempted. The great question, then, is, What is to be done with the slaves if they are set at liberty?"

Here the wide gap between abolitionism in *profession* and abolitionism in *practice* is surveyed, and yet the writer does not lay bare the full measure of the inconsistency. Abolitionism does violence indeed to its own professions when it refuses the recognition of equality to the negro; but does it not do greater violence to truth and nature and history and experience, in asserting that equality, and would not this inconsistency remain, although the assertion were strictly carried out? Mr. Chambers scarcely states the question fairly, even for the abolitionists. "If they think negroes are MEN," is the hypothetical dilemma on which he would catch abolitionism. On the contrary, we can see no necessary connexion between admitting the negro to the rank and grade of humanity—which none ever denied—and admitting him to the full *status* of the whole race.

The great question, however, "What is to be done with the negroes *if*?" &c., still remains. What has been done with another inferior race, on whom the conservative and cherishing influences of a systematized relationship to their superiors was not tried, is known to the world that has read the sad story of the American Indian—but what will be done with the negro? The answer of the south is easy and simple, "Let well enough alone," and the intelligent slave himself would say to the puffers and venders of quack reforms, if he could, "We want no change, and, least of all, such change as you would bring."

But those who are ever assuming that something must be essentially wrong in our institutions, because our laboring

classes do not play *Rebecca*, and burn hay-ricks, and demolish factories, and form combinations against capital, and give other indications of the happiness and content enjoyed by laborers elsewhere,—these gentlemen, we say, can satisfy themselves as to the remedy, and are at perfect liberty to try experiments with their own.

In allusion to this aspect of the question, and in conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Chambers writes:

“While lamenting the unsatisfactory condition, present and prospective, of the colored population, it is gratifying to consider the energetic measures that have been adopted by the African Colonization Society, to transplant, with their own consent, free negroes from America to Liberia. Viewing these endeavors as at all events a means of encouraging emancipation, checking the slave trade, and at the same time of introducing Christianity and civilized usages into Africa, they appear to have been deserving of more encouragement than they have had the good fortune to receive. Successful only in a moderate degree, the operations of this society are not likely to make a deep impression on the numbers of the colored population; and the question of their disposal still remains unsettled.

“With a conviction that much harm has been done by exasperating reproaches from this side of the Atlantic on the subject of slavery, I have done little more than glance at the institution, or the dangers which, through its agency, menace the integrity of the Union. I have, likewise, refrained from any lengthened comment on the constant discord arising from the violence of faction, and have barely alluded to the extreme hazards into which the nation, under the impulse of popular clamor, is, from time to time, hurried by reckless legislation.

“Trustful that the American confederation is not destined to be dismembered through the unhappy conflicts which now agitate the community—trustful that the question of slavery is to be settled in a manner more peaceful than is figured in the speech of Mr. Howe—and having great faith in the power and acute intelligence of the American people to carry them through every difficulty, (all their political squabbles notwithstanding,) provided they will only take time to look ahead, and avoid the perils that beset their course, I bid them and their country a respectful farewell.”

With the spirit of these remarks, worthy as it is of one who has done so much for the best interests of his fellows through the potent instrumentality of the press, all must be pleased. As to the hopes indulged in reference to the permanent results

of colonization, we might dissent were it worth while now to argue the question. The experiment is yet in its infancy, if we speak of grand national results; in the meanwhile many an humble missionary is at his post, carrying christianity and civilization to Africans personally; and the slaveholding States of this Union present a larger census of *converts*, perhaps, than can be justly accredited to the combined efforts in other forms of the sublime spirit of missionary enterprise, which has found its Franklins and Ledyards, no less than the restless spirit of modern research.

As to the dissolution—a subject on which we cannot argue, but as compelled by dire necessity—we need only say also that Mr. Chambers, we think, is in error. Should that catastrophe occur, it will not be charged to slavery justly, but to the spirit of anti-slavery aggression. The Union, if doomed to perish, may have the epitaph which has expressed the fate of many victims to quackery in medicine, politics, and morals—

“I was well, I would be better,
I took physic, and here I lie.”

THE NEGRO RACE.

Professor Washington, of William and Mary College, delivered a very interesting lecture on the subject of “The Negro Races.” His object was to prove that the negro has always been, and ever will be, subordinate to the whites, and that, physically and intellectually, he is inferior to the latter. He went into a wide field of investigation, explored the evidences of the monumental and historic periods, which supplied him with abundant materials for explaining his proposition, and none who heard his arguments could well dissent from the conclusions to which they led. He referred to the celebrated antiquities of Egypt, the obelisks and temples on the Nile, which, with their mysterious hieroglyphics, reveal to the learned in these symbolic representations the condition of society, the manners and customs of the people of that wonderful land, as far back as thirty-five centuries; and from this source he drew testimony amply corroborative of his views respecting the comparative inferiority of the negro race. He also derived from the records of history testimony of the same stamp, which he vigorously applied to his case; but not satisfied with proving that the negro was physically, morally and intellectually inferior to the other races, he showed also that whenever and wherever the two races have come in contact the result has been the reduction of the former by the latter to a state of

servitude. This point he clearly established. But he went still further in his discussion of the subject. The negro was not only by nature an inferior being in the scale of humanity, he was not only so much so as uniformly to pass into bondage upon his collision with the Caucasian, but this very condition of slavery was the only means of his reaching any degree of civilization and usefulness. Here Professor W. was particularly happy in his arguments. He demonstrated that slavery elevated the negro above his native barbarism, from which he is wholly unsusceptible of being otherwise reclaimed than by the influence of this foolishly reviled institution, which has existed in all ages in the very midst of civilization. The Professor also argued irrefutably that it is the tendency and propensity of the liberated negro, left to the indulgence of his own free instincts, to relapse into his own original barbarism. These were the main heads of the lecture on Friday night, which, by-the-bye, embraced only a branch of his general subject of the inequality of the races, which the Professor further discussed on Saturday night, at the same place. Of this lecture we cannot speak particularly. We are sorry that we cannot present a fuller sketch of the lecture on the negro races, for it contained matter that in the present circumstances of the country is peculiarly worthy of study and reflection. There is an infinite deal of trashy and nonsensical declamation of fanatical and hypocritical cant poured forth by the abolitionists against the institution of slavery. They neither understand or wish to understand what it really is. Such an institution, instead of being a curse upon, and degradation of, the negro, is a blessing and an exaltation. It has *elevated* him from the depths of barbarism and brutalism to a degree of civilization and usefulness, and happiness, which he never would have reached through any other instrumentality. Under the authority, guidance, and protection of a white master, he is capable of rendering the most valuable services, which, under no other circumstances he would do. This is abundantly manifested by the vast contributions which have been made to the wealth and commerce of the world by the products of his labor in the West Indies and in the southern States of this Union. But for the peculiar capacity of the negro for withstanding the heats of the tropics and adjacent regions, the great staples of sugar, cotton and rice, would never have constituted, as they have done, a magnificent source of national and international opulence, through the multiplied operations of trade, navigation and manufactures. We wonder what Mrs. Grundy will say to this?

THE COURSE OF EPIDEMICS—YELLOW FEVER.

In the meteorological and mortuary sketch of New Orleans, published in the Directory, Doctor Dowler gives a chapter upon the subject of *yellow fever*, which goes to show the migratory character of that disease, inducing the belief that it will eventually cease to have a place in southern cities. Subsequent events have not justified these conclusions. Doctor Dowler is, nevertheless, one of our sagest and best medical philosophers.

On the present occasion, no attempt will be made to enumerate the different eruptions of yellow fever in New Orleans, much less to give the special history of each. The times when, and the places where it has prevailed, will be noted only in a comparatively few instances. The historical enumeration of New Orleanian epidemics, to be at all satisfactory, would occupy too much space—not that I would conceal anything as it regards the sanitary history of the city. Nevertheless, it is a great error to suppose that New Orleans is and has been the greatest stronghold of yellow fever. This disease, in New Orleans, has prevailed only for a short time, and has caused but few deaths compared with many other cities. The whole mortality in New Orleans, since the first invasion of yellow fever, presents but a small fraction of that which has occurred in Spain for a single year. At the close of the last, and the beginning of the present century, fears were entertained that yellow fever would depopulate the entire peninsula of Europe.

The following tableau includes only a small proportion of the Spanish towns in which yellow fever has prevailed; the dates are subjoined:

Medinia Sidonia, 1801-'2-'12; Malaga, 1741, 1803-'4-21; Seville, 1800-'1-'19; Teres, 1800-'19-'20-'21; Carthagena, 1804-'10-'11; Gibraltar, 1804-'10-'13-'14; Cadiz, 1705-'31-'33-'34-'44-'64, 1800-'3-'4-'10-'13-'19-'20-'21.

The following data, taken almost at random from a large collection, will indicate the places and dates in relation to a part of the yellow fever epidemics in the United States:

Gordon (in his History of Pennsylvania, from its discovery to 1776) says yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia in the year 1700,* (nearly a century before it appeared in New Orleans,) and quotes T. Story's statement concerning the consternation that prevailed in that city: "Great was the fear that fell on all flesh."

*Thomas Story's account relates to the year 1699, according to some authorities.

It prevailed in Philadelphia in 1732-'41-'43-'44-'47-'62-'93-'94-'96, and subsequently, as in 1797-'98-'99, 1801-'2-'3-'5-'17-'20; Boston, 1693, 1795-'96-'98-'99; New York, 1702-'43-'48-'62-'91-'93-'98-'99, 1800-'1-'2-'3-'5-'19-'22; Norfolk, 1741-'47-'97, 1800-'1-'21; New Haven, 1742-'94, 1805; Baltimore, 1794-'5-'7, 1800-'18-'21; Providence, 1794-'97, 1800-'5; Pensacola, 1765, 1822-'25-'41.

Martinico, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Guadaloupe, Sainte Croix, Antigua, St. Domingo, Vera Cruz, Havana, Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York have suffered more from yellow fever than New Orleans.

Yellow fever appeared in New Orleans in 1796,* just three hundred and two years after its appearance in the West Indies among the Spaniards who accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. Its name is legion. It would be tedious to enumerate the various names applied to it for several centuries. In less than twenty years after its appearance in the West Indies, its principal features had been described by several Spanish writers, as Oviedo, Herrera, and Gomara. Dr. Noah Webster has proved that about this period, namely, 1618, some of the New England tribes of Indians had been almost entirely destroyed by this malady—three hundred only remaining of a tribe that had numbered thirty thousand! The whites found their skeletons strewed over the ground in and about their towns. The survivors described the leading features of the disease so as to leave no doubt of its true character. In 1635, Father Du Tertre and others described the yellow fever of Guadaloupe, as did the English who suffered from it at Carthage in 1641, and in Barbadoes in 1647. But black vomit, as a symptom of this disease, appears to have escaped the attention of observers, or was absent, until described by Father Du Tertre and others, near the middle of that century.

The yellow fever appeared in Boston in 1693, and next year in Rochefort, France, more than a century before it visited Louisiana. About this period Father Labat's account of yellow fever at Martinique appeared in his travels, not to mention many other notices of a similar character by various writers. The stream of yellow fever literature now began to widen and grow deeper, from time to time, until the last twenty or thirty years. This fever has prevailed as an epidemic about fifty times in Europe. Before it appeared in New Orleans it had prevailed in Cadiz six times, in Philadelphia eight times, Norfolk three times, Charleston ten times, Baltimore twice, New

* One authority (Frasans) says 1795.

York seven times, afterwards nine times, New Haven twice, Barbadoes eleven times, St. Domingo four times, Jamaica five times, Havana three times.

Charleston, desolated at the close of the 17th, and the beginning of the 18th centuries, had no epidemic yellow fever from 1703 to 1728. From that period up to 1755, no less than five epidemics visited this city, after which an exemption of 37 years took place, until 1792—but during 10 years, ending in 1802, eight epidemics occurred. The recent and now existing period of exemption enjoyed by the northern cities of the United States scarcely equals that which Charleston formerly enjoyed long after the first invasion of that city.

In the north temperate zone, yellow fever has been fully as frequent as in the torrid zone. In the south temperate zone it has not, as yet, prevailed to any considerable extent, until the year 1850, excepting in Pernambuco, lat. $7^{\circ} 20' S.$, in 1684, and in Guayaquil, lat. $2^{\circ} 11' S.$, in 1740.

During the year 1850 it appeared for the first time, and in its most fatal form, in the city of Janeiro, nearly under the tropic of capricorn, and consequently on the confines of the south temperate zone. This advance of yellow fever upon the south temperate zone, is probably but the harbinger of its future invasion of the southern part of the continent, and of its decline in the north temperate zone. The sparseness of population, particularly of urban population, in South America, will probably render its march much less obvious and less disastrous. No good reason, *à priori*, can be assigned for this migratory movement of the unknown cause of yellow fever. The only reason at all plausible that can be given, is an empirical, or rather historical analogy. The yellow fever cycle commenced within the tropics soon after the discovery of America. Its period of increment comprehended nearly two centuries; its culminating period, thirty-three years, extending from 1792 to 1825. Soon after it began to decline in Europe and in the United States.

Epidemic yellow fever has traversed in Europe nearly 46 degrees north latitude, as in Rochefort, ($45^{\circ} 50'$), in the year 1694; and in America nearly 47 degrees, ($46^{\circ} 50' N.$), in Quebec in 1805. Its southern limit has been, within a few months, extended to the city of Janeiro, lat. $22^{\circ} 55' S.$ Hence, its entire austro-boreal range is $69^{\circ} 44'$, covering nearly seventy parallels of latitude.

Without attempting to enumerate the exact number and places of epidemic yellow fever, it may be proper to state that it prevailed in places of note about as follows:

Century.	Towns.
Fifteenth.....	3
Sixteenth.....	5
Seventeenth.....	35
Eighteenth.....	150
Fifty years of nineteenth century.....	150

But as it respects this last estimate, it must be observed that by far the greater number of places visited by yellow fever during the last fifty years, were so visited in the early part of this century. The Peninsula and other parts of southern Europe, once severely visited, are now nearly or quite exempt from the disease, as are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, and many other towns, even those inland.

Hence, it may rationally be conjectured, that as this malady, after having reigned a longer or shorter period, in many places in the north temperate zone, and having gradually declined from the north towards the south, so in New Orleans, where it appeared at a comparatively recent period, it will, in like manner, soon cease. Many facts prelude this "consummation, so devoutly wished." Within and north of the northern tropic, the disease is less frequent and less malignant now than formerly, while under the southern tropic it is beginning to show itself.

THE HIRELING AND THE SLAVE.

In our last, we furnished an extract from this admirable poem, attributed to the pen of William J. Grayson, Charleston, South Carolina. We have since found the following in the columns of a distinguished cotemporary journal, the *National Intelligencer*, and transcribe it for the benefit of the readers of the *Review*:

"I do not know what poetical is. Is it honest in deed and word? Is it a true thing?"—*As You Like it*.

When we opened this volume, and found that the grave subject which its title announced was treated *more poetico*, we said to ourselves, if the Prince of Bards and truest expounder of human nature were correct in his maxim that

"The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact,"

why, then there can be nothing here but "fantasies," into shapes "the forms of things unknown," and givin turning

"————— to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name,"

and we will not waste our precious time in scanning the un-

substantial and baseless fabrics of any seething brain in Christendom. But we remembered, to our great after satisfaction, that the same oracle had said there was a "heaven-bred poesy" which received its nourishment from a holier source than imagination, and which was of course capable of imparting to everything it touched the light and force of truth. Thus encouraged, we entered at once upon our task, and had scarcely read a dozen couplets, before we began to feel that we were in the presence of one who had drunk deeply from the purest fountain of inspiration. There is nothing unreal, nothing imaginary in the scenes and incidents depicted. Nature herself sat for the portraits, and in all of them her honest features are faithfully delineated. The poem is, to use the simple words of Audrey, quoted above, "in deed and word" "a true thing." It is a living representation of things as they are, not as they are portrayed by the pencil of fanaticism; and yet, with all its scrupulous fidelity to the truths of common every-day life, we have seldom seen "the golden cadence of poesy" more beautifully marked, or more sweetly illustrated. It is a happy mixture of what are not always united, "rhyme and reason." While the reader is irresistibly attracted by the mellifluous ease and elegance of the former, conviction is forced upon his mind by the logical soundness of the latter. But it is neither by the consummate skill displayed in his paintings, nor by the grace and beauty of his versification, that we have been seduced so unreservedly to endorse the fidelity of the picture presented to us. We happen to have been familiar with the scenes and incidents he describes; we have lived in the midst of them, and in our boyish days have often shared in the moonlight sports so vividly brought back to our recollection in this beautiful poem. We speak, therefore, from a personal knowledge, when we say that the author has drawn none of his materials from imagination.

The author shall answer for himself why he chose to clothe his remarks on the subject of slavery in the garb of verse :

"It may be thought unnecessary," he says in his preface, "to invite public attention again to the subject of slavery. But if the subject be trite, it is also of incalculable and unceasing interest. I have endeavored to diversify the mode, if not the matter, of the argument by throwing the remarks offered into verse. I have done so, not only for the reason assigned, but with the additional purpose of offering some variety to the poetic forms that are almost universally prevalent. The poetry of the day is, for the most part, subtle and transcendental in its character. Every sentiment, reflection, or description is wrought into elaborate modes of expression, from remote and fanciful analogies. The responses of the Muses have become as mystical and sometimes as obscure as those of more ancient oracles, and disdained the older and homelier forms of English verse.

"It has occurred to me that a return to the more sober style of an earlier period may not be an unreasonable experiment on the public taste. The fashion in dress and furniture, now and then, goes back a century or two—why not the fashion in

verse? The school of Dryden and Pope is not entirely forgotten. May we not imitate the poetry of Queen Anne's time as well as the tables and chair? The common measure of that period, applied to a didactic subject, may diversify the dishes presented to the public, and provide for its appetite the same kind of relief that bread and butter or beef and pudding would offer after a long indulgence in more refined and elaborate dishes. The most fastidious appetite may tolerate an occasional change of diet and exchange dainties for plainer fare."

This extract will supersede the necessity of our saying anything as to the model upon which our author has chosen to erect his poem. It is divided into two parts; the argument of the first is to show that the state of the hireling and the slave is substantially the same; that is, that both are compelled to labor, and that both receive the same reward for that labor, namely, subsistence. But there is this important difference between the two classes: the hireling is not always able to procure the labor he seeks, nor to obtain the reward which should follow it, whereas the slave lacks not subsistence, whether he be in a condition to toil for it or not. So far, then, his lot is superior to that of the hireling; and this superiority is the consequence of his condition as a slave, his master being bound, not less by self-interest than by the laws of his State, to provide for his wants, in sickness and in health, in infancy and old age. In Africa the condition of the native negro has remained without improvement or amelioration from the earliest records of history to the present moment. Christian missionaries, philanthropists, moralists and socialists, have alike labored in vain to implant the seeds of civilization in that burning soil. Cannibalism, ignorance, idolatry, slavery in its most horrible forms, continue to produce their brutal fruits, as if no effort had been made to stop or alleviate their destructive ravages. The existence of slavery in America has been the only source of blessing to the native African. Here he learns the rudiments of civilization, becomes gradually awakened to the reception of religious truths, and learns to participate in those social enjoyments which were not only unknown to but impossible for him in his native country. The improvement of the negro is the fruit of the master's care; the tendency of all that the abolitionist, however sincere in his philanthropy, would do for him would necessarily be to put a stop to this improvement, for to change the relations between master and slave would be to deprive the latter of all the advantages derived from them, and to subject him to all the miseries of the unemployed hireling.

The opening of the poem furnishes a fair specimen of the easy flow of the versification:

"How small the choice, from cradle to the grave,
Between the lot of hireling and of slave!
To each alike applies the stern decree

That man shall labor, whether bond or free ;
 For all that toil the recompense we claim—
 Food, fire, a home, and clothing—is the same."

And, again, how beautiful is this description of the cornfield :

"On upland slopes, with jungle lately spread,
 The lordly maize uplifts its tasseled head ;
 Broad graceful leaves of waving green appear,
 And shining threads adorn the swelling ear ;
 The matchless ear, whose milky stores impart
 A feast that mocks the daintiest powers of art ;
 To every taste, whose riper bounty yields
 A grateful feast, amid a thousand fields,
 And, sent on mercy's errand from the slave
 To starving hirelings, rescues from the grave."

The argument of the second part contrasts the precarious state of the European hireling with the security and comforts of the slave, his religious enjoyments, his sports and amusements. From the fact that the Indian tribes have been extinguished in the country now inhabited by the negro, the author infers the certainty that the latter would also sooner or later disappear if not protected by slavery. It is, therefore, unwise and unphilanthropical, to attempt to change the comfort and security of the slave for an evil that is certain or for a good that is problematical. It is from the present slavery of the African that the improvement of the negro race and the civilization of Africa are to be worked out ; and the master who governs with vigor, but with kindness, is but the agent of Providence in the accomplishment of this desirable object.

This portion of the work abounds with passages that breathe the very spirit of harmony. We can only furnish space for a few of them, selected at random :

"The early shower is past, the joyous breeze
 Shakes pattering rain drops from the rustling trees ;
 And with the sun the fragrant offerings rise
 From Nature's censers to the bounteous skies."

The description of the country church :

"——Bosomed in primeval trees that spread
 Their limbs o'er mouldering mansions of the dead,
 Moss cinctured oaks, and solemn pines between,
 Of modest wood, the house of God is seen,
 By shaded springs that from the sloping land
 Bubble and sparkle through the silver sand."

How very like Goldsmith is the following description of the return of the fishing boats, after a day's sport, where slaves and masters are met alike to enjoy the scene :

"Now, with declining day, on every hand
 The loaded boats turn slowly to the land,
 Spread the light sail or ply the bending oar,
 And seek warm shelter on the wooded shore ;
 The boat song rising with its wonted charm
 Imparts new vigor to each sturdy arm ;
 Hamlet and camp attend the well known note,
 Expect the spoil, and hail the welcome boat."

EVENTS OF THE MONTH—PERSONAL NOTICES—BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

The following we received through Franck Taylor, Taylor & Maury, and R. Farnham :

Marco Paul's Voyages and Travels, "Springfield Armory;" by Jacob Abbott. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1855.

The Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the royal succession of Great Britain; by Agnes Strickland, author of *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 5. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1855. This volume is wholly occupied with the intensely interesting memoirs of Mary Stuart, and is in the best style of the distinguished authoress.

The Story of the Peasant Boy Philosopher, founded on the early life of the shepherd astronomer, the great Ferguson. Mr. Mahew has written nothing which will be read with more zest than this highly instructive little work which is published by Harper.

Harper's Story Books, No. 3, Strait Gate. An interesting series of story books for children, appearing each month, at \$3 per annum, and edited by Jacob Abbott.

Travels in Europe and the East; by Samuel Ireneus Prime, with engravings, in two volumes, 1855. The volumes embrace a tour through England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Harper & Brothers, 1855. A new book of travels, and possessing much interest for those who from their closets would follow the author in his ramblings through everything that is exciting in the Old World.

Afraga, a Norwegian and Lapland Tale, or Life and Love in Norway, translated from the German of Theodore Muggle; by E. J. Morris, fifth edition. Philadelphia, Lindsay & Blakiston, 1855. The romance introduces us into a region which is a rare and almost untrodden field of fiction—the remote neighborhood of the north and those icy, desert steppes, where the Laplander pursues his wandering life of privation and suffering.

Harper's Statistical Gazetteer of the World, with special reference to the United States and British America; by J. Calvin Smith, to be completed in ten numbers, at 50 cents each, comprising in all about 1,800 pages, with

seven new and accurate maps, in one royal octavo volume. The closing numbers of this admirable work are before us. It is of course indispensable to every library, being one of the most complete gazetteers ever published in our country.

Inez, a Tale of the Alamo. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1855. A thrilling story of Texas life in the days which tried the souls of her patriots.

Botany of the Southern States, in two parts; by Professor John Darby, A. M. New York, A. S. Barnes & Co. Most of the facts and principles contained in the pages of this work have been the subjects of personal observation by the author. He has labored for many years to bring the work as near to perfection as possible. Being a resident of the south, the author presents peculiar claims, and his work should be adopted as a text book in all of its schools and colleges.

Poems by Paul H. Hayne. Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1855. Mr. Hayne is a young Charlestonian who has been winning laurels in literature for several years past. Some of his poems are of very high merit, and they are all calculated to add to the author's reputation.

First Lessons in Geography; by James Mentieth. A beautiful child's book, from Barnes & Co., of New York, and intended as a part of a series, embracing every department of instruction.

Physical Geography of the Sea; by M. F. Maury, L.L.D., Lieut. U. S. Navy; New York, Harper & Brother, 1855. Our readers know that the *Review* has embraced a great number of most interesting and valuable papers from the pen of Lieutenant Maury, who is one of the finest thinkers and soundest philosophers of the day. He has done more than any contemporary in the particular field to which the present volume is dedicated. It will lay on our desk for another occasion, when we hope to enter at large upon several of the most valuable matters which are discussed and elaborated.

OUR EXCHANGES.

British Reviews.—We receive from Leonard, Scott & Co. the following: *London Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *North British Review*, *Black-*

wood's Magazine, and *Westminster Review*. These works are put at rates which are surprisingly moderate. Either Review \$3 per annum, any two for \$5, all four for \$8, or with *Blackwood*, for \$10. Nowhere else in the world can so large an amount of valuable literature be obtained for the same money.

Harpers' Magazine, for March, 1855, \$3 per annum.

Putnam's Magazine, for March, \$3 per annum.

American Railroad Journal, New York, \$5 per annum.

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, New York, \$5.

Metropolitan, edited by a committee of literary gentlemen; John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, \$2.

Western Democratic Review, Indianapolis, \$3.

Charleston Medical Journal, \$4 per annum.

New Orleans Medical Journal, \$5 per annum.

Western Journal, St. Louis, \$3 per annum.

Charleston College Magazine, \$2.

Southern Literary Messenger, Richmond, Va., \$3.

Monthly Law Reporter, Boston, \$3.

Telegraphic Companion, New York, quarterly, \$2.

American Polytechnic Journal, New York.

Soil of the South, Columbus, Ga., \$1 per annum.

Southern Quarterly Review, Charleston, C. Mortimer, \$5.

Christian Examiner, Boston, \$4 per annum.

Plough, Loom, and Anvil, New York, \$3 per annum.

New Jersey Medical Reporter, Burlington, \$2.

Nautical Magazine, New York, \$5.

Franklin Institute Journal, Philadelphia, \$5.

U. S. Economist, New York, \$5 per annum.

Bankers' Magazine, New York, \$5.

United States Insurance Magazine, New York, \$3.

We have received the current numbers of all of the above works, and find them to be fair specimen numbers. We propose to our cotemporaries such an exchange of notices as the above regularly, and will proceed with those that adopt the suggestion. If preferred, some reference by name to the leading articles in each issue will be made. The benefit will be reciprocal, and readers will thus be continually referred to the sources of information upon particular topics.

Claim of Mechanical Labor to Equality with other Pursuits; address, by H. Fauntelroy, Nashville, Tennessee, 1855.

Oration delivered before the Physico-Medical Society of New Orleans; by Dr. Mercier, 1855.

California State Almanac and Annual Register for 1855.

Proceedings of the third session of the American Pomological Society, held in Boston; reported by A. C. Felton, 1854.

Letter addressed to the President of the United States on Slavery; by an American citizen; Boston, Redding & Co., 1855; will be referred to again.

North and South; by the author of *Mary Barton*; published by Harper & Brothers.

Journal of the United States Agricultural Society, for 1854; edited by William S. King; Boston, 1855.

Avillion, and other Tales; by the author of *Olive*, the Head of the Family, *Agatha's Husband*, etc. Harper & Brothers, 1855.

Agriculture and Horticulture.

TWO CROPS OF RICE IN ONE SEASON.

CONSULATE UNITED STATES, EGYPT,
Alexandria, October 15, 1854.

DEAR SIR: Knowing the deep interest which you feel in all scientific or agricultural discoveries, I send you the letter of Signor Lattis, which accompanies this, and to which it is only necessary that I should add a few lines of explanation.

Having heard some very remarkable statements in connexion with experiments in rice culture made by that gentleman in the immediate vicinity of Alexandria, I was induced to make inquiries in relation to the matter, and finally to satisfy myself by personal inspection of the fields under his management.

The result of those inquiries and that inspection has been the conviction that a great discovery has been made by Signor Lattis, through which he is enabled to produce two crops of rice in five months from the same seed, and an increase on the usual yield of at least thirty per cent.

Whether this arises from some chemical preparation of the seed, or from his peculiar treatment of the plant, is his secret. I incline to the former opinion. But the facts are authenticated by witnesses of the most irreproachable character, and the experiments have been made on the land and under the eye of Mustapha Pacha, one of the royal family, who was educated in Paris, and is a man of shrewdness and intelligence.

Offers have been made for a monopoly of his secret here, but Signor Lattis, who is a political refugee and a gentleman of high scientific attainments, prefers extending the benefits of his discovery, and is especially anxious that the United States should share its benefits. In reply to a note addressed to him by me on the subject, he wrote the letter I send you, declaring his readiness to submit the discovery to the test of experiment in the United States, should encouragement be given him through me by the southern planters.

My long acquaintance with you, and your labors in the same field, have induced me to make you the medium of communication with our mutual friends in the south, and I therefore request that you will give publicity to the discovery through the southern papers, and favor me with your own views on the subject at your earliest convenience.

I can assure you that there is *no humbug* in this matter, as

you know I am not a very credulous person, and have not embraced it without examination.

The English consul general here is very anxious to secure the secret for India. The discoverer thinks it may succeed with cotton also.

Sig. or Lattis is not a mere adventurer. He is a gentleman of high reputation—a Venetian—who has devoted his life to agricultural and scientific pursuits, and has still the wreck of a very large fortune, which the Italian revolutions found him the hereditary possessor of.

He drained the great Harlem lake, and was connected with other public improvements in Holland, and enjoys the high respect of the best portion of this community.

I therefore commend this matter to your serious attention, as I believe it may greatly redound to the interest of our beloved mother—South Carolina.

With sentiments of the highest regard, I remain yours truly
EDWIN DELEON.

To Dr. R. W. GIBBES, *Columbia, S. C.*

ALEXANDRIA, *Egypt*, October 13, 1854.

SIR: You have done me the honor to request the communication of some details upon the advantages resulting from the cultivation of rice according to my system.

Before acceding to your desire allow me, sir, to express to you the feelings of deep gratitude awakened in me by the interest that you have so kindly manifested in the recent and conclusive experiments that I have been making in this country—an interest, however, which could not surprise me, knowing, as the whole world does, the promptness with which the happy and powerful American nation hastens to turn to advantage whatever may prove useful in industry and advance humanity.

It was my intention to limit myself for the present to the practice of my system in Egypt, and to defer the publication of it until further investigations should furnish me the means of establishing the possibility of extending the application of my discovery to the production of other grains besides rice; but taking in consideration the invitation of the representative of a nation essentially progressive, as well as the personal qualities which characterize you, sir, I do not hesitate to modify the plan that I had laid out. I invite your attention, then, to the following details, which in my present situation I am permitted to offer:

My rice fields yield, as you know from personal examination, two successive crops from a single sowing, and within a period of about five months, provided that the temperature remains constantly above the mean of 20° Reaumur. I think, therefore, that every country capable of growing cotton is fit for the cultivation of rice after my method. This cultivation is not effected by the usual method of irrigation by submersion, the water being allowed to flow on the rice fields only at stated periods. This offers the immense advantage of economizing about one-third of the water generally used for irrigation.

The straw, especially that of the first crop, furnishes an excellent pasturage for cattle, while that left after the usual mode is good for nothing. This is not surprising when we consider that the rice stalks remain very little in the water, and being consequently exposed to the action of air and light do not absorb the elements of acidity which are communicated by the water in the other case. Moreover, the vegetable development taking place with great rapidity, the tissues have not time enough to pass into the ligneous condition.

The practical knowledge and attention necessary are extremely simple, and² within the capacity of minds the most ordinary, so as easily to render their adoption possible by every planter of your country.

The chemical means by which I stimulate the vitality of the rice, and which serves to determine in it an increase of heat, are very cheap. They are more than sufficient to repair the loss of productive capacity which the soil would endure in furnishing a double crop.

You are aware, sir, that far from impairing the value of land, science has proved rice to be a plant which actually improves the soil that produces it.

It remains for me now to say as to the sum I would demand for the introduction of my system in America, although it would be very difficult for me to state it at this moment, yet I am convinced that this could offer no obstacles to the enterprise. America is too powerful and too generous to hesitate in obtaining what she recognizes to be of great utility, and I in my turn should be too happy to place my humble services at her disposal. It is, therefore, in my opinion beyond a doubt that as soon as you may be authorized to make me an offer, we may easily come to an understanding.

Accept in the meantime, sir, the expression of my most distinguished consideration.

GERMANO LATTIS.

E. DELEON, *Consul General.*

THE COST OF A POUND OF COTTON.

The following argument is made by the editors of the *South of the South*. We present it to our readers unchanged:

The profits of cotton planting are, in our estimation, largely over estimated. At eight cents a pound, which may perhaps be taken as the average price of cotton, it is a fair business, nothing more. There are individual instances of planters who make a large profit at that price, but for every such instance, another can be found, who, on the other hand, barely makes a living at the same rate. The laws which govern money making are the same in cotton planting as in every other legitimate business. Close economy, strict attention to his business, prudence and industry, will, in the end, make a man rich, whether he makes cotton bags or sells calico, whether he tills the earth or plows the ocean, and without these elements, he can no more prosper in the one than in the other. There are more fortunes made at planting than at any other business, very probably, but this result is attributable not to the supposed fact that there is more money made at the business than at any other, but because planters are, as a class, more economical, and live more at home than any other. It is not to be denied that our vocation has decided advantages over many other pursuits; its independence, its stability and its security, for instance, but it will be found, the world over, that just in proportion as these advantages are sacrificed in any pursuit, no matter what, just in that proportion are the anticipated profits enhanced. The shipping business, for instance, has to encounter more risks, and is proportionally more uncertain than planting, but when its adventures are fortunate they yield a much larger return than the same amount would if invested in land and negroes. So of banking, so of mining, so of merchandizing, so of every other monied pursuit. After all, there will be found a surprising uniformity characterizing the profit and loss account of the various legitimate avocations of life. The advantages and disadvantages, estimated with reference to their profitability, are very evenly balanced, and a choice between them is a matter to be regulated by the tastes and talents.

We set out, however, with the assertion that the profits of cotton planting were largely over estimated, and we return to the question, what does it cost to produce a pound of cotton? There are difficulties in the way of an exact answer to this question, and our estimates will be necessarily approximative, but, we think, not far out of the way. We shall, of course, represent no one isolated instance, but will base our calcula-

ons upon the ordinary operations of the cotton plantation. We shall assume that the average value of a full hand is \$900, and that the unavailable negro property on the plantation, in the shape of young and old negroes, amounts to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. upon this; that is to say, on a plantation where the negro property amounts to \$12,000, the value of the available force will be only \$9,000. In calculating the interest, therefore, upon the value of each hand, we shall add to it $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for the value of the inefficient negroes, because it is a necessary part of the cost of a cotton plantation conducted on the general plan. We shall allow thirty-five acres of land to each hand, twenty-five for cultivation, and ten in the woods. The allowance of land, we know, is below the fact, generally, for there are few who own less, and a large number own twice or three times as much. We think, however, that the crop should not be charged with a larger proportion of woodland, inasmuch as it is in no way indispensable to its culture. We have taken ten acres of woodland to the hand as sufficient to afford wood, timber and privilege to the plantation. By the returns of the last census, the average value of farms

In South Carolina, was.....	\$5 08 per acre.
In Georgia, was.....	4 19...do...
In Alabama, was.....	5 30...do...
In Mississippi, was.....	5 22...do...
In Louisiana, was.....	13 71...do...

Making an average in these five States of \$6 70 per acre. The average of *cotton* lands in Louisiana, is not, probably, so high as the figures in the above table, but the average in the other States, we are satisfied, is a low estimate.

The usual rule on cotton plantations is, to allow one mule for two hands, and the result of our observation is, that the average duration of good service that may be expected of a mule, with ordinary plantation treatment, is five years. We shall, therefore, charge the crop with interest on the prime cost of the mule, and 20 per cent. for his wear and tear. In estimating the cost of clothing, hats, blankets, &c., we shall charge each hand with his own customary allowance, and 50 per cent. additional for the inefficient negroes on the plantation. The balance sheet will then stand thus, for each hand:

Dr. To interest on 35 acres of land, at \$6 per acre..	\$16 41
To interest on negro property.....	84 00
To interest on half cost of mule, at \$150	5 35
To wear of same	15 00
To clothing, &c	8 00

To 50 per cent. on unavailable negroes.....	\$4 00
To expense of overseer.....	15 00
To salt.....	1 00
To iron and blacksmith work.....	3 50
To bagging and rope.....	5 00
To annual expense for tools, wagons, gear, &c..	3 00
	<hr/>
	160 16

Cr. By 2,000 pounds ginned cotton.

According to the foregoing estimate, the cotton would cost a fraction over eight cents per pound: It will be perceived that we make no charge for corn and bacon, which, according to the foregoing calculation, is to be raised at home. Thus it is seen that, taking the average production of the country to be 2,000 pounds of ginned cotton, or four Georgia bales, to the land, and estimating that, by a prudent economy, the planter produces all his own supplies, it actually costs him eight cents for every pound of cotton he makes.

FRUIT CULTURE AT THE SOUTH.

No. 5.—(Concluded.)

APPLES.—This fruit has been grown generally with more success in the south than the pear. The early and summer varieties do better than the kinds known as winter apples at the north, for the reason that these last are more apt to rot or fall from the tree before maturity. The early sorts, ripening here in June or early in July, are *Early Harvest*, *Red Astrachan*, *Benoni*, *Early Strawberry*, *Drap d'Or*, *Summer Rose*, *Early Chandler*, *Red Margaret*, and *Red June*. The *Early Harvest* is the highest flavored of all with me, but a rather shy bearer.

Among the summer varieties, ripening here in July and August, I can recommend *Bullock's Pippin*, *Cooper Apple*, *Fall Pippin*, *Maiden's Blush*, *Rambo*, *Gravenstein*, and *Yellow Newtown Pippin*. These are all valuable sorts; but out of a large number I have ripened in this latitude, I find no apple to compare, either in size or flavor, with an apple of the pippin family which was introduced into this country by the early Spanish colonists. It is the national apple of Spain, where it has been cultivated from the highest antiquity, and known as the *Camuesar*. This variety has become thoroughly acclimated, and bears in my grounds abundant crops of healthy fruit every year—fruit very large, some specimens of monstrous size, roundish oblong in shape, skin smooth, oily to the touch, yellowish green to clear pale yellow, with sometimes a

blush of brownish red next the sun; flesh yellowish, crisp, tender, and with a sugary and highly aromatic juice. Mr. Affleck has propagated this variety under the name of "*Elgin Pippin*." A skillful orchardist in the south, by planting one hundred or more acres with this fruit, for the supply of southern and western markets, would make a most capital investment. It bears transportation well, as I have sent it to New York in August with complete success. Is in eating, if ripened in the house, the last of July and all of August.

I think it highly probable that southern seedling apples will soon displace all foreign sorts in the south. Among the new varieties which have originated in Georgia, the *Shockly*, *Bacolinus*, *Buff*, *King*, *Callasaga*, *Wonder*, *Thurmond*, *Berry*, *Summerson*, and *Neverfail* apples are all highly recommended. As my trees of these varieties have not yet fruited, I cannot speak of their merits, but northern pomologists have ranked several of them in the highest class.

THE PEACH.—This fruit is so easily grown with success in our climate, that I will not dwell upon its culture. The northern varieties do well, and ripen in June, July, and August; for later kinds southern seedlings must be, and many excellent ones already have been, originated. I have known several sorts of this fruit to reproduce themselves from seed, and your venerable fellow-citizen, Mr. Carson, informs me he has had many varieties to reproduce from seed fruit of the highest excellence, and that he found no difficulty in succeeding, provided the peaches for seed were left upon the trees until, in common parlance, they were dead ripe.

THE APRICOT.—Since planting my trees upon the north side of buildings, the apricot has in some years borne heavy crops of delicious fruit. Blooming as it does about the time we have sharp frosts, it requires close watching to prevent its loss. Smoke from a pile of cotton seed, or rotten logs, placed under trees when a frost threatens, will protect the blooms and secure the crop. This fruit ripens here in May or the early part of June.

THE CHERRY.—Upon the Mahaleb stock I have trees six years from the bud which last year bore large crops. The fruit, in size and flavor, equalled any ever grown at the north. As this fruit is cultivated in perfection at the present day in both Italy and Spain, I see no reason why it should not do equally well in our climate. We may originate new varieties from seed if northern sorts do not readily become acclimated.

INSECTS INJURIOUS TO FRUITS AND FRUIT TREES.—In a country where there are few, if any, old orchards, insects inju-

rious to trees are not likely to abound. The apple-borer and canker-worm are seldom met with; the peach-borer (*agesia exitiosa*) is abundant, but its depredations are easily checked. This is a small brown beetle, known as the *carposifugus*, or fruit-eater. This insect is not so large, neither is its puncture at all like that of the curculio. They are especially destructive to the peach and the nectarine, boring into the fruit as it approaches maturity, and thus causing it to rot. They also attack the pear and the apple, if these fruits are allowed to remain upon the tree until they become soft. My attention was called to this insect only a few years ago, when the peach first began to rot with me, and it seems every year to become more numerous and destructive. I think it likely that this is the insect which causes the rot in the cotton pod, of late years so prevalent. I neither know nor have I heard of any successful plan for their extirpation. I have checked their ravages in some degree in my orchard of peaches by burning small torches at night, when many fly into the light, and are thus destroyed. I find, too, they avoid the poultry yard, where the peach in a great measure escapes their attack.

In conclusion, allow me to hope, Mr. Editor, as there must be many zealous horticulturists within the bounds of our State, that they will ere long organize a State association for the furtherance of horticulture; and if a congress of fruit-growers, embracing the entire planting States, were annually or biennially to meet at some central point, it would tend to throw a flood of light upon a subject as yet in its infancy among us, but which I feel sure is destined ere many years to add largely to the wealth and resources of the south. RUSTICUS.

HIGHLY VALUABLE INFORMATION FOR RICE PLANTERS.

HARVESTING RICE.—About a week or ten days before you begin to harvest rice, draw off the water from your fields. In order to judge when rice is fit to cut, examine the lower part of the ear; if there remain one or two grains of a greenish cast, the rice is then in a fit state to apply the sickle. Negro drivers, in general, allow it to remain until all the grains have turned yellow, in which case the crop ripens too fast, and you cannot keep pace with it in cutting; much is thereby lost by shelling. Avoid, if possible, stacking rice in the field; whole crops are sometimes lost by unforeseen accidents: have it brought home, and put in stacks of 8 feet in diameter, and about 18 or 20 feet in length, 8 or ten feet high. Be careful in stacking, to put away by itself all light and damaged rice.

RICKING RICE.—In ricking rice, great care ought to be observed to collect all sheaves that are in the least injured by dampness, and put away in small stacks, with any light rice you may have. The propriety of the length of the rick depends upon the number of negroes you work, so that in threshing the rick may not be too long exposed to the weather. In a gang of 25 or 30 workers, it is advisable to make them about 20 feet long, 12 feet wide, carried up straight to about 6 feet, then slant off gradually, carrying it up to about 18 or 20 feet high; lay the sheaves all one way and close. Such a rick, if solid good rice, will produce from 20 to 25 barrels of clean rice, of 600 weight each barrel. Upon the top of each rick have a heavy pole or rail, suspended on each side by a grape vine, under which place a quantity of straw to protect the rice from the weather. Rice should not be put into large ricks until it has had about three weeks of the sun, otherwise it may be apt to mow-burn.

HOOP POLES.—Where hoop poles are plentiful, a negro can with ease cut one hundred, and bring them home, where the distance is not two great.

SPLITTING STAVES.—In splitting staves, four hands are generally sent out, and employed thus: two to cut down and cross-cut the tree to the length of the staves wanted; one to bolt; and the fourth negro is employed in splitting. Five hundred is the task per day. The second day another negro is sent to draw the staves split the day before; his task is 300. The staves being split, they are then put into piles of four or five hundred, to season.

SPLITTING BARREL HEADING.—The same number of hands are employed in splitting heads for barrels. The task for splitting, per day, is 250 pieces, of two pieces to each barrel head, and 150 in drawing and trimming, for one cooper per day. If more than two to the head, the task is 200. They ought to be drawn immediately as they are split, while the wood is green.

SPLITTING PUNCHEONS.—250 broad puncheons, 4 and 5 feet in length, is the task for a negro to split per day; such as would answer for a barn or negro house.

SPLITTING SHINGLES.—In splitting shingles 22 inches long, four hands are sent out as above stated; two to cut down the tree and cross-cut to the length, one to bolt, and the fourth to split one thousand. The next day, a negro will draw 500 per day, as his task. In splitting for negro houses, he will split 700 broad, heavy, cypress shingles, two and a half feet in length. In drawing, 400 is the day's work.

MAKING WORM FENCES.—The rails being brought to the spot, and every thing ready, the bushes and weeds removed, a negro man and woman can put stake and ride one hundred panels.

POST AND RAIL.—Four negroes can put up 35 or 40 panels of post and rail fence per day; dig the holes between two and three feet deep, and put down the posts properly rammed, at the distance of nine feet from each other. The rails to be ten feet long, to allow a good lap or hold in the mortice.

A negro carpenter can make 60 mortices per day in the post and rail fence.

SPLITTING RAILS.—One hundred rails, of 12 feet long, and heavy, is the day's work of an able bodied negro man.

CUTTING WOOD.—A negro man can cut for his task one cord of wood, 4 feet long. The cord when piled and well filled in to be 8 feet long, 4 feet high.

PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF EMANCIPATION.

EIGHT YEARS IN BRITISH GUIANA, FROM 1840 TO 1848, INCLUSIVE; BY BARTON PREMIUM, A PLANTER OF THE PROVINCE. LONDON, LONGMAN, &C., &C., 1850.

The author, a native of British Guiana, was left by his father, a sugar planter of that colony, an estate yielding about \$20,000 per annum profit. Educated in England, he there married the daughter of a wealthy London merchant. In 1832 the slaves in the British colonies were emancipated, subject, however, to an apprenticeship of a certain number of years. In 1833, soon after the measure of emancipation was proposed by Lord Stanley, in the British parliament, Mr. Sismondi, the distinguished historian, in a communication to the London New Monthly Magazine, declared it to be his opinion that the measure must fail to obtain the objects intended by the British philanthropists. Comparing this emancipation with the emancipation of the slave peasantry of Europe, he says: "The conditions on which the work of the country continued to be carried on by the heretofore slave for the heretofore master then settled the question of indemnity for the loss of property of man in man, and must settle it now, since the question is again raised by the planter. He who reckons that the labor of the negro is gratuitous to the master who purchased him is surely a bad calculator. The master in buying a slave only secured having a workman at his command, dependent on him, whom he can employ against his will at whatever work he pleased, without ever having to bargain for wages; nevertheless the master is obliged to sup-

port the slave; he must feed, lodge, and clothe him; whether well or ill it must be sufficient to keep him alive; he must support also the children, the aged, the sick, women in their lying in, even when they do not work, or at least not sufficient to gain their livelihood. But, alas! let us consider the condition of the laborious poor in the country and manufacturing towns of England and Ireland, as well as France and Germany, and say whether the wages they gain can procure more than what the master is bound to give the slave. They earn hardly coarse food, wretched clothing and lodging; and little indeed remains of their wages to bring up their children, or to maintain themselves in sickness, in age, or when out of work. The master is then at the same expense for the slave as he would be for the workman, without reckoning the purchase money; only, in the first case, he undertakes himself the exchange of wages for labor, in giving what he thinks necessary to the slave; in the second, he lets the exchange be made according to the judgment and circumstances of the workman. It is clear that if the master is secure of having at his command the same number of workmen as under the slave system, and of obtaining from them the same quantity of work at the same expense, he would have no right to demand an indemnity; but he would have no notion, likewise, for preferring the free to the slave system. It was a better bargain for the master when the European slave was emancipated; he offered more work at less expense and care; accordingly, it was eagerly accepted. The defenders of the negroes think it sufficient to pronounce them free and to grant them all an enfranchisement at once, such as that which is sometimes obtained by individuals for a sum of money, or from the bounty of their master; and they affirm that the slaves would thenceforward, like the white laborers, debate their wages with their former masters; would have the same security, and on return bring as much intelligence and activity to their work. In this single instance the protector of the negroes appear to us to be greatly deceived; and the planters are right when they affirm that it would be the destruction of the colonies. Not only the planters would themselves be ruined, but the black population would, in a short time, be destroyed by misery and famine. Our ancestors did not displace them—they did not cast them on an unknown futurity—they did not demand from them combinations of prudence and foresight, for which they were thoroughly unprepared! Nevertheless, it was men of their own race whose yoke they broke—men speaking their language, professing their religion

and who had been long admitted to an interchange of ideas with them.

"If the existing tie between the master and the slave be broken, if the latter be sent away from his cabin and plantation, if his wretched clothes and instruments of labor (which certainly belong to the master) be retaken, it would be necessary to begin by assigning him a capital with which to procure these first necessities of life, otherwise the liberty granted him would begin with privations he is utterly incapable of supporting. It must not be forgotten that it is a being naked, feeble and ignorant that is thus suddenly called to begin a new existence; that it is, at the same time, a human being of strong passions, who forms no clear idea of the liberty granted him, which he receives at first with transports of joy, soon followed perhaps, by transports of rage, when he perceives that it serves as a pretext to despoil him of the little that seems his own.' Mr. Sismondi then proceeds to show that a feeling of hostility must arise between the former master and the former slave, now placed in the position of open rival interests. "There is now no charity or sympathy between the the white and the black race, no charity is to be expected. If the free negro is without work he is without bread; he perishes if he is sick; if he is an orphan he perishes; no poor laws, no aid from the parish, no alms come to relieve his misery, for all the power and wealth are in the hands of men who are at enmity with him. The removal of the whole working population, and the vagabond habits thereby introduced, will be scarcely less fatal to the negroes than to the property they had abandoned." Notwithstanding this ominous warning, in 1838, Mr. Premium was astounded with the information that the cabinet designed to increase rather than diminish the cost by removing the apprenticeship, and granting immediate emancipation to the slaves. Thus all time was denied the negroes to enable them to acquire habits as necessary to themselves as to the interest of their employer in their new situation, in which they had been placed by this exterior and foreign influence, while, at the same time, utter contempt is shown towards the feelings and welfare of the former owner. Finding himself after the end of one year (August, 1838) with only one-half of his former revenue, Mr. Premium thought it necessary to the protection of his interest that he should remove with his family to his plantation called "The Fortune," in Guiana, in the province of Demerara. In November, 1839, he reached Georgetown, the principal city in that province. Upon their arrival the negroes greatly rejoiced, screamed, danced, and shouted, as they wel-

came their approach along the avenue leading to the mansion-house of the plantation.

"The sable performers beat the ground with their long heels—the toe is not fantastic with them—and while one man chanted a line of rude verse suitable to the cause of their meriment, the rest repeated it in full chorus to a tune of their own, till it swelled loud and high, far and wide, over the din of the well-beaten drum. Gradually the bacchanals, advancing onward as the festivity ripened, invaded the house itself, and with such a multitude of sooty Terpsichoreans the boards creaked and groaned, I feared even unto dissolution; but there was no remedy. From time immemorial such saturnalia had been endured; and it was only after hours of continual exertion that a sort of slackness appeared, which gave me and the manager, then with me, an opportunity of representing the fatigues of the family, and how much better it would be to finish the dancing in their own village; which reasoning, being enforced by another pailful of rum and other ingredients for punch that would last until they were all tired, we got them off after many strange congés, and sundry skips and yells on the green, caused by their over-boiling happiness. 'Children! children,' I muttered to myself, as I turned from the scene, 'are these the sons of steady and continuous industry? No, no; there is too much of the sun in the fiery fluid that circulates within; too much of the African rover of the woods to labor if he can live without it; too little of the European mind to know the advantages of a settled occupation.' Such were Mr. Premium's reflections. "Aha, massa," cried old David, the driver, as he shook his master's hand, "all free now; nebber mind, work all de same, man must work; no work, no eat." Such was Davy's opinion then. We will see how long such an opinion prevailed on the plantation. Every one familiar with African slavery knows the good feeling which generally subsists between the master and the slaves where they have not been stirred up to insubordination by foreign influences, and been led to expect by change that which must forever be denied them so long as they remain in the same society with the white man.

"My estate," says Mr. Premium, "stands near a river, commanding the full view of a splendid stream; which, in Europe, would be the mightiest of waters, bearing on its quiet bosom innumerable corials, batteaux, canoes, and every variety of small craft, which the increasing wealth of the laboring class enables them readily to acquire; and it is a rare thing, even thus early in the career of freedom, to see a negro

on foot, unless he is going a very short distance. Occasionally a square-rigged vessel will come quietly along the tranquil waters, as if rejoicing in the waveless peace of an inland sea, on its course to some large plantation, there to receive a considerable portion of its cargo; and many colony schooners, of ten to twenty tons burden, are crossing continually to and fro between the shipping and the different estates, they being the carriers of produce, generally, from the latter to the former. The house is large and commodious, with a gallery surrounding it, and all those variations of structure resorted to in the tropics to promote the circulation of air. A considerable space around it has been planted with those flowering shrubs and beautiful though gaudy flowers which spring up so luxuriantly on the South American continent. And amidst them the gaudy plumed birds of the country sport in great numbers, and glistening lizzards of every variety are seen on the ground and the palm trees, which grow also near the house, mixed with the sculpture like cabbage palm; a little further off fruit trees of every variety form an extensive orchard, in which the peach-like mango, the yellow orange, and the delicious grape-fruit shine conspicuous; the approach is lined, on each side, by regular rows of cabbage trees, equal in age and size, which, throwing their branch-like leaves over the road, afford a partial shelter to the passing equestrian or gig traveller from the glare of the noontide sun. On ascending to the porch my wife and daughter lifted up their hands with delight, and some time elapsed ere they could withdraw their eyes from the new and lovely objects which attracted them, as they all said they felt they were in another world—in fairy land! ‘In a new world, certainly, my dears,’ was my reply; ‘but whether it is as good as it is fair, you have yet to try.’” Alas! this seeming paradise—this garden which long had been a sort of terrestrial paradise—we soon will show proved to these innocent victims to a false philanthropy anything else than what it seemed to be.

On the “Fortune” Mr. P. had 500 acres in cane cultivation. The sugar plantations in Demerara resemble very much the rice plantations of South Carolina and Georgia. All the cultivated lands are regularly intersected with drains, ditches, and canals, in a similar manner. Gates, or embouchures, admit and retain the tide-water at will. In a like manner with our rice, the cane is brought from the fields in flats or punts to the mill, or sugar house. Before the emancipation, one hundred acres were kept in a most luxuriant state of culture of banana or plaintain for the benefit of the negroes, as the law required:

but now the manager had been compelled to abandon its cultivation, telling the laborers that they must now do like the whites and buy or raise their own provisions; for which grounds were still allotted to families for themselves. They thought this a great hardship; for they expected to continue in the enjoyment of every former advantage they had been accustomed to, and to receive their wages also. Some even went to the "stipendiary magistrate" to complain of this injustice. He being the instrument of the anti-colonial party, as most British appointments in the colonies have been for centuries back, gravely heard the charge, and though no grounds of just complaint could be found, his conduct was such as to leave heart-burnings among the whites and discontent and suspicion on the part of the negroes towards their white employers; whereas, if the negroes had at once been simply told the truth, how the law stood, and that the proprietor was no longer bound to find food for them after the first of August, 1838, and if he had not proceeded to the estate to hold a sort of trial of the manager, in the presence of the negroes, everything would have gone on smoothly. But "poor blackie," as Mr. Premium expresses it, being delighted to find that he had a sort of power over *Massa*, would have brought him to a similar account every Saturday, if the patience of this functionary had not, at last, given way, and he abandoned Cuffee for his own ease.

The crop for a long time had been, on an average, 500 hogsheads of sugar, with rum and molasses in the usual proportion. But in 1839, for the first time in fifty years, the crop was reduced *one half*, and the cause of that falling off was now the anxious subject of enquiry and conversation with Mr. P. and his neighbors. Was anything else than the want of labor the cause of this? The manager, Mr. Brown, a man of good education, and long in that employment on the estate, said that of the two great evils arising out of emancipation, he scarcely knew which was the worst, but they both arose from the same cause—the absence of controlling power over the negroes, who were like infants whom the law takes care of, unable by their own judgment to regulate their actions properly. They could not bring themselves to work continuously, and when they were in the field, no threat nor punishment in the power of any one to inflict, could induce them to execute their task with that nice attention which tropical agriculture, and especially the culture of the cane requires; and it appeared doubtful to him, whether the mere abstraction of their former quota of labor, or the slovenly scratching work now ob-

tained, operated most injuriously for the planter. They both have a direct tendency to diminish the production of the land, and in that way had jointly resulted in a general loss of crop for the by-gone year of fully one moiety. On the Fortune, nearly one half of the former population had gone away. In fact, on almost every estate, there was a general upheaving of society, the ties by which it was kept together in other days having been broken asunder, and a restless desire for change in hopes of still further improving their condition, taking possession of the laboring population. Many a planter relied on former attachment, fostered by kind treatment; but a child remembers not such associations, and can the negro, with his puerile mental developments, be actuated by them? On ignorance of this fact with many, and wilful neglect of it among others, the resolution to emancipate them, without sufficient preparation, and subsequently, the sudden termination of the period of apprenticeship, as fixed by the act, are owing, and all the evils which the sugar colonies now suffer, and are doomed to undergo hereafter, must emanate.

A system which shuts the ear of the ruler against the voice of practice, as opposed to that of theory or imagination, cannot work well, says Mr. Premium, especially in the colonies which are so distant from the seat of government, and from whence the sound is but feeble, as compared with the turbulent agitation and loud outcry which the partizans of the opposing faction are able to raise, and which indeed overawe the ministerial party. The governors are generally poor men, with nothing but their claims on powerful friends by which to obtain a livelihood, and if they set themselves up in opposition to their employers, ranged on the side of the colony they govern, they cannot expect to continue in the good graces of those on whom they depend. In each settlement two parties exist, which are regularly pitted against each other, as much as buyer and seller in any commercial transaction. The official men are continually stickling for the rights of the mother country, and making demands which the interests of the colony require of her representatives to resist. Thus it is perfectly understood they are opposed to each other, and in general harmony and good humor prevail among both parties; but when not a fraction of property but the whole of it is at stake, men need not wonder that angry expressions occasionally emanate from colonial members, on hearing proposals containing, perhaps, the germ of a new and destructive ordinance to be imposed by the privy council. The influence which the colonies could obtain in the imperial parliament depended upon

the number of relatives which the members have either *resident* or *interested* in the colonies. For the last six or eight years symptoms had become evident that this influence was diminishing. The mortgagees in England became interested in having the emancipation money applied to their satisfaction, and public attention was already directed to other more popular colonies.

On Sunday the creoles or negroes born in the colony bore a smart, easy air, as if they had always worn *buckra* clothes, but the native Africans made a ludicrous exhibition on their way to church. One man had on nothing but a hat, and a substitute for a fig leaf; another nothing but the substitute and a swallow tailed coat and gloves. The ladies, with their short apologies for a petticoat, generally bore umbrellas, not to protect them from the sun, but for mere ornament. Prior to the act of emancipation, there was some restraint on drunkenness, but now, Mr. Premium says, the scene was altered, if we are to judge from seeing the roads on the Christmas holidays strewn with sleeping men, who had thrown themselves down, or were thrown down by more potent liquor, wherever that might be. It was in vain for the planter to attempt to conciliate his laborers, unless by the assistance of the stipendiary magistrate, and we have already seen how little the planter had to expect from that quarter. Indeed, says our author, the feet in our body politic fairly threaten to become the head, and to regulate the machine. The man will be master, and the master what the man pleases. The English, says Mr. P., and we think the same may be said of our American abolitionists, have derived all their ideas of blackie and of African slavery from that picture of Sterne's, which is so often repeated in schools, and over this fancy they raise a wail, as if it was a reality daily occurring. And like Sterne, too, their philanthropy and tenderness for the misfortunes and wrongs of others are much more demonstrative in relation to distant and imaginary objects than towards those that are nearer, or that concern their own immediate social and domestic relations. Mr. P. declares, that so far from being cruelly treated, the slave was as well protected, and in the same way, in his rights, as the servant was in his. Having lived in England as well as in the colonies, he knew the value of what he said. His food, clothing, lodging, and garden grounds were all fixed by law, and officers appointed, who were independent of the planters, to see that these provisions in their favor were strictly complied with. Rigorous treatment of a slave, by any authority over him, was severely punished; and, in

fact, to such a length was it carried, that it was the universal remark, that it was better to get into a quarrel with a white than a black man.

In 1840, Mr. Premium remarks, I have seldom seen more than two-thirds of those who went to work for the day in the field before eight o'clock. The young and strong get through their allotted work in four hours, and, if much in want of money, can do three days' work in one. By some it was so done. If they perform their tasks as fixed by law, they go through with it, but it is always inadequately done, and left in the most slovenly condition; if they are blamed for so doing they seek another master. If the overseer complains, cuffee looks him impudently in the face, "Hey! obusha! you tink da work no strainin?" Already, says Mr. P., I have abandoned one-third of my cultivation, and I shall be obliged forthwith to give up some more fields. Yesterday I had only forty at work, instead of eighty or one hundred, my usual gang in former days. The upshot, he says, was that, with double expenditure, with a half crop, there must be double prices or ruin. Irish, Portuguese, from Madeira, and coolies, from India, were tried. With the former, every evening was a Donnybrook. The papers of the United States have been filled with the accounts of the wretched attempts to substitute for African labor the labor of people from Madeira, China, and the East Indies. It has proved more than a failure. The Africans, brought from their daily native scenes of barbarity and bloodshed, had, for many years before their emancipation, been humanized, and reclaimed from their wildness and idleness; and, bearing better than any other of the human race the labor and diseases of tropical climates, they were here in the very situation in which they could be of most use to society and benefit to themselves. The substitution of these miserable whites on plantations, instead of blacks, while it shows a very questionable sort of humanity, should satisfy those who theorize upon mere conjectures, and not upon well ascertained facts, that free labor is not always either best or cheapest. By the emancipation of the negro, a habitual feeling of exultation at being able to set at defiance the rule of the white man is engendered in his breast. Excited to the highest degree of antagonism on both sides, and to insubordination of the inferior to the superior class, they are expected to work harmoniously for their mutual benefit! "Two days ago," says our author, "a fellow stood up in my canefield, stretched himself out, and called aloud that all might hear, 'dis ha work no good, me da go fish, O!' and, straightway shouldering his shovel, marched

off; a few of the rest gazed at him for a short space, and one by one followed. In half an hour there was not one left in the field." Prompted always to apply for advice from those that are inimical to the planter, they are invariably misled, to their own injury as well as that of the planter. Officers sent out by the parent country come fully impressed that the planters are all that they are represented to be by abolitionists or other opponents in England; heated with zeal, they are already violent partizans. I verily believe, says Mr. Premium, that if they were told that we dined every day on negro steak they would believe it.

In October, 1840, Mr. P. remarks, that the planters are eagerly overbidding each other in the labor market. That summer sugar had taken a remarkably sudden rise. This sudden rise in prices produced a similar rise in price of labor. This hurried many into speculations, and finally contributed to increase the evils under which the colonists labored. The wiser ones were struck with dismay at what they saw must be the result. Unfortunately, under this excitement, cultivation was extended, and the wisest, in self-defence, were compelled to fall into the prevailing system, though they knew that upon a change or revulsion, a few weeks of neglect, for want of labor, would destroy every variety of cultivation from the rapid growth of noxious weeds. An attempt to employ more animals failed, because of the dearness of food. If the drains are obstructed or not regularly cleaned out the canes will not grow. So they must be properly planted, weeded and moulded. The stripping must be most carefully done, and all disorganization of labor must endanger the whole crop. Even the words uttered by the governor at his table are carried by mischievous, anti-colonial underlings, possessed of abolition feelings, to the negroes, to contribute to their disaffection and to the disorganization of labor. "Massa must gib five bit for the task, like other ghentlemen. No so; thum sha' go away. Some say, gubner tink de price too small—tink so last year, too. His butler tell de people dem, he eered gubner say so at he dinner table." When asked if they would be willing to lower it again when sugar falls, the reply was: "Can't say dat; nigger no hab sense like buckra to understand ting. Massa, look here; nigger no like work, it is not his fashion; get plenty money he do um." Such were driver Dave's remarks, who had requested of his master "to hab a leetle conversation." "And how are you getting on to-day, David, a good field list?" "No, massa, berry bad; da he I come to speak to you. Dem all say the plantations round

'bout gib more wage, an' dey can't stan' it no longer, dat is de trut; I sorry, but can't help it."

Uncontrolled by the master, they are continually quarrelling. A silly, childish dispute (says Mr. P.) every day involves perhaps a hundred people in a wordy squabble that annoys us for two or three days. It grieves me to say that I am now persuaded there is also a change for the worse in their morals, in the face of our immense church establishment, and the schools which are so liberally scattered over the province. The orgies they keep up at night are frequent and licentious in the extreme. Overcome by spirits and fatigue, they are to be seen lying on the floor, indiscriminately, men and women. To all this impudence is added, if any attempt is made by the planter to keep better order on his place. In this way we are told that some proprietors received not only irreverent, but dangerous treatment, and this, too, from persons so lately their slaves! If a governor communicates information to the mother government favorable to the colonies, it is immediately said, "O! he is bitten by the rattlesnake, we must look for another; he is too intimate with the planters and is adopting their prejudices. Generally, the governors are only surrounded by subordinate officers, and not by the gentry of the colony.

Taking the average rate of slaves for the eight years preceeding the act of emancipation, we are told that the planter was allowed "just eight shillings and four pence sterling in the pound of the real market value of their property, under the pretence of such an appraisement—and no remonstrances could convince the mother country that property of a much higher value (their lands and other colonial property) was endangered by the act."

In July, 1841, a re-action had already taken place in prices, and the unfortunate planter began to realize his melancholy position of the frogs in the fable—sport to others it might be, but it was evident ruin to him. Thus in the lapse of two months it was found that no plantation could be sold, but with great loss. A fearful pit was presented to the planter, and whichever way he turned he was threatened to be swallowed up. In Europe and other parts of the world, the poorer class usually beg for work—here the better people beg them in vain to work for wages far above the value of their labor. Already Mr. Sismondi's objections were realized, and the madness of the scheme fully proved.

In January, 1842, the planters were compelled to reduce these high wages to meet the fall in prices. Mr. Premium's driver, David, again tells him that the negroes will not submit

to it. He was told that the price of sugar would not justify higher wages—that the planter could not make sugar if it brought less than it cost. “All true, massa,” said David, “but I tell him before, if white people don’t gib good money, nigger won’t work. Da sa he stand—nigger will not work in dis here country for little money. The king or queen, wha de call um? before he make new law for nigger, must know berry well he can’t work widout good money; if sugar no bring good price, let de queen gib the plantation massa dem money to pay de people. Da he do um—da he take um from plantation an make um free.” “And do the negroes really talk that way, David?” “Ebery one talk so—if de queen hab de power to take away slaves, queen hab de power to pay all ur people.” * The negroes, says our author, are all of one mind as to the lawfulness of slavery; and they consider the taking away of slaves from a man exactly in the same light as forcibly depriving him of his estate in land, unless the most ample compensation is made. They are accordingly entirely mystified as to the proceedings of the imperial government. “Slavery being the lot of the many in Africa, they are disposed by tradition or experience to regard it as the natural state of society, and the proper position of the laborer, exactly for the same reason that the Englishman looks on freedom as his birthright because it was the inheritance of his fathers. I have never heard a negro say that it was otherwise than unjust to emancipate them without paying their price; but some having been imbued with radical doctrines, insist that we were paid enough. David, however, is not one of those. He knows what the article would have fetched in the market, and no sophistry can persuade him that it was not worth the market price. He himself, as he proudly told me, was appraised in 1832 at 4,500 guilders of our currency, or about £360 sterling. He was known to be a good man and a good driver. But to resume the conversation. ‘You think then, David, that the king (queen you mean—it is a lady) must have informed herself on every point connected with this question, and that she will not let the work stop without giving what money is required to pay what you call proper wages.’ ‘Yes, massa, de queen an’ her council had too much wisdom to do big ting like dat in such loose fashion—dat would be worse dan Congo nigger.’ ‘Then you think that all this fright among the proprietors and their meetings are just for nothing—no good reason?’ ‘Yes, da so

* It had long been common in the islands to hear the negroes, “Massa Buxton (Buxton) and Massa King George, who gib dat law;” Buxton being always considered rather the most important of the two powers.

dem say—dem say, Buckra want to fool dem—put plenty money in dere pocket.' 'Now David, you can't believe that; do you not think it possible that the planters are not supported by the queen as they expected?' 'Perhaps (doubtingly) may be so massa.' I knew perfectly by the tone in which he spoke that he did not agree with me. I was aware also that reasoning with him was entirely out of the question, until something should occur to stagger him in what is at present a point that he pins his faith to. After a short pause, he went on. 'Dem say gubner no 'gree with plantation massa; he no tink wage too much.' 'Aye! do the negroes say that to be the case?' 'Massa no hear some go to he office? dem say so, so he tell dem.' 'I can't believe that David; he could not do anything so far wrong, and so contrary to facts.' 'So dem say; me no know.' And thus our conversation terminated."

February 1, 1842.—The greatest consternation prevailed, in consequence of the negroes refusing to work at the wages offered. The measures forced on the luckless planters were now evidently aggravated by the singular and mischievous conduct of the executive. The negroes flocked to the government office, where they were talked to, either by the governor or one of his chief officers, in that sort of undecided manner which, with a rude people naturally suspicious, is almost sure to mislead. Instead of informing the negroes that the planter alone had the right to fix the wages he was willing to pay, the negroes were informed that the matter would be considered, and was actually taken into consideration by the executive and attorney general—just the same mistake that the stupid magistrates of Lyons committed when the riots of the silk weavers took place in October, 1831, thereby increasing the discontent—adding fuel to the flames. It was just as mischievous and as impertinent as if a lord lieutenant of a county, in England, should interpose his authority between a master manufacturer and his workmen, in regard to the regulation of wages and the hours of labor. In that case, all England would cry aloud, and every press in the country would be open-mouthed against such an assumption of authority.

Previous to 1839, we have stated that the crop on the Fortune averaged 500 hogsheads. That year placed emancipation in full operation. The crop of 1841 was now only 155 hogsheads, and 13,000 gallons of rum, and the expenses being increased, "the loss now on the year," says Mr. P., "has been about £1,500," or about \$7,500. "Some of my neighbors have been more unfortunate; the largest amount sunk in the

district, on one estate, being £5,000, (about \$25,000,) an enormous sum, and a loss truly startling, when we consider that it may be of frequent occurrence so long as the cultivation is kept up."

Mr. P. notices the fact, well known at the south, that negroes have a sort of hereditary respect for the lords of the soil; and that while they may deride an overseer, in their general contempt for poor buckra, (poor white man,) even after their emancipation, they were inclined readily to yield obedience to plantation massa, if not misled by whites.

In 1832, Mr Premium's estate was valued by sworn appraisers at £105,000. For this he received £25,000 compensation; for the balance he declares he could not, in 1842, have got £10,000, instead of £80,000. So much for the act of a parliament that makes the stealing of a pocket handkerchief, "at home," punishable by death.

The strike of the negro laborers continued from the commencement of the year till the end of March. "In the province," says Mr. P., "there are two hundred and twenty sugar estates, and of these it is not expected that more than twenty will this year make any clear revenue." These were the richest. The governor was openly charged in court, by a Mr. Briar, with throwing difficulties in the way of the planters, and he made no reply to it. All the colony, Mr. P. says, knew it to be true, and they did not hesitate to say that the governor supported the negroes in resisting the measures of the proprietors. The laborers brought from Maderia were miserable wretches, entirely unfitted by constitution and habit for the field or the climate. With their pale lips and wan complexions, dysenteric affections, and a low, nervous fever resembling typhus, and hard work, soon took them off.

A missionary calling one day, heard the family speaking, as he supposed, with not sufficient respect of poor Toby's falling in the ditch, and not being able to get out, from poverty and exhaustion, died. The missionary, not knowing that Toby was a donkey, spread a report over the neighborhood that one of Mr. P.'s negroes, starved and exhausted from neglect and misery, had fallen into a ditch and died. What a nice bit for Mrs. Stowe, and her *bonne amie*, the Duchess of Sutherland. Such has been the source of many slanders against the planters here as in the colonies. Though a good loyal tory, Mr. Premium, in October, 1842, could not refrain from registering this sad reflection: "But the sad fact is present to the mind of every colonist, that his adopted country is only considered by the dominant party of the state in the light of a something

to be used in promoting the interest of the mother country when that is possible. And when the unhappy colony humbly represents how the parent can assist the child, and begs that it may be done, its application is regarded as a saucy piece of impudence, and the reply is, 'it will be injurious to the interest of England.'” With us there is this difference—that the inquiry is, what is the interest of the manufacturer and the coal and iron masters of the north, with now and then a little bribery to the sugar planter? In all other respects, the south stands in a purely colonial attitude towards the north, whose interests alone are considered or respected. If Canada now constitutes an exception from the common course heretofore pursued towards the colonies, she owes it not alone to the liberality and good sense of Lord Durham, their late governor, but to her proximity to the United States, and to the danger of tampering with her under such circumstances. In Great Britain, tenants of houses are not allowed to receive and harbor bad subjects, but in the colonies it is quite otherwise with the negro. So in America, the white fugitive from justice is promptly surrendered, while the negro fellows are concealed, harbored by clergymen, women and statesmen. Mr. Premium, and the greater part of the population on his plantation, were annoyed by a rascal not employed on the place, but who could not be turned off, because he was the guest of a negro woman who had a house on the estate. Such is even the zeal of abolition law for black people. As soon as a negro acquires land enough to bring a crop of bananas or plantains, it is impossible to get him to work on any plantation, or to do more than to render some little assistance to bountiful nature, in the production of his little crop. White laborers brought in, not being suited to or not liking plantation work, become hucksters, carters, porters, and pedlars, and add greatly, as they do here, to the corruption and drunkenness of the negro population. In short, as many are with us, mere receivers of stolen goods, and follow much more readily the precepts of Jonathan Wild than of the bible.

January 1, 1843. “The same increasing downward tendency.” Crop 152 hogsheads, and 12,000 gallons of rum. Loss on it £1,935. Not one of eight nearest plantations had any clear income from the crop of 1842! The highest amount of loss was £3,000 (and the lowest £250) which was the condition of one that had been one of the most valuable, belonging to a Mr. Ridley. Three fifths of the direct outlay was paid in wages, besides the expenses they were at for houses to lodge these laborers, doctors’ bills, &c.; for Mr. P. says

he still continued, as others did, to employ a medical man, at his own expense, for the benefit of the negroes!

Field after field was abandoned, until only a small proportion now remained cultivated. "There," says Mr. P., "is poor old Blank, a few years ago worth hundreds of thousands, creeping about like the shadow of his former self; and I could name more." And all that we have shown will not satisfy some minds of the fallacy of the theory that has obtained with orators on political economy, that free labor is, in all cases, cheaper and more profitable than slave labor. The coolie, the Irish, the Portuguese, and the Chinese experiments, all prove that the opinion is not based upon actual experiments, but upon the assumptions of a sickly philanthropy. Under certain circumstances free labor may be the cheapest, and it is equally clear that slave labor can alone be successfully applied under other circumstances. Attracted towards the United States, even white superintendents became difficult to procure. The bad work of 1842, produced that year, the worst crop since Mr. P.'s residence in the province. He refusing, for a while, to pay for tasks improperly done; at the end of the month, two thirds of his gang left him. He gives the average crops for fifteen years. That previously to 1838, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads per acre; from 1838 to 1840, $1\frac{1}{4}$; and from 1840 to 1842, inclusive, barely one hogshead. *The last years' yielding, by itself, does not give more than three quarters of a hogshead.*

Much is said about marriage and the sacred rights of family among the slaves, and it is supposed that emancipation will mend the matter. But the free negroes show a great aversion to marriage, and if married, in such a low class of society, how are these sacred rights to be enforced? "Marry no for nigger 't all—da buckra fashun." Such is their expressions, and when they do go through the ceremony, for show-sake, of which negroes are very fond, it is an idle form, for they readily separate and take new mates. And such is the indifference to the fate of each other, that too many have seen their nearest relatives expire without being at the expense of paying for a single visit to them. They will call in a physician for themselves when alarmed, but for those depending on them—their aged and infirm relations—they will not be at the expense, although death must inevitably ensue. Even with their childrens' lives they dally in the same inhuman manner, so that it is not going too far to say that many are annually lost in consequence of this apathy, accompanied with disinclination to part with money for a purpose that does not promote their

pleasures. So much accustomed have they been to look to the whites for everything in sickness, that they thought the refusal to pay the doctor a great hardship, and even complaints, in some instances, were lodged with the magistrates against their employers. In one village eighteen children died of whooping-cough, not one of whom was visited by a doctor. Able to earn in a couple of days the necessary means for a week, they cannot toil the other four. There is no white man in the province who is contented, or who does not look wretched, save those on the civil list. Having pensions, these latter look with philosophical indifference, or even affrontery, at the sufferings and discontent of all the rest. The press is corrupt and entirely devoted to government, and these baneful newspapers are read in England as the truthful organs of public opinion there. The radical or liberal papers, as they call themselves, are the worst, and do all they can to put down the planters; and it is this party that has infused their spirit into the abolition party of our northern States, and with it all their agrarian and red-republican ideas, which already threaten the welfare of our Union. There too, as here, the clergymen of many sects have been extremely mischievous in their interference; the Wesleyan Methodist constituted an only, but honorable exception, and always conducted themselves so as to command the respect of the community. The retailers, generally from the old countries, if not planters or mortgagees themselves, were generally inimical to the planter. And no cit of London could be more ignorant regarding the rural districts of England, than the Georgetown cockney (the largest town in Demerara) concerning what is passing on the plantations of that colony; and this will account for the strange extracts from letters which appear occasionally in the English newspapers—just as some of the same class misrepresent the southern planter in their correspondence with their northern friends or northern papers.

In July, 1843, the diminution of labor from the withdrawal of many people from field work began to be most severely felt. Many strong negroes of the age for labor spent their time in utter idleness. Their enjoyment consisted in "sitting down," which means sleeping on benches in front of their cottages, or lying down and chatting for hours together. The women amuse themselves with "Nancy stories," or what our sand-hill people call "romancing," i. e., squatting down on their hams, as the gipsies do in Hungary, chatting and whiling away the time for hours. Many live by fishing and shooting; and these wander through the cultivated fields with their dogs, in

pursuit of game, regardless of much injury done to the crops, and if they cannot find game convenient, kill each others' poultry that may have travelled out of sight of the owner.

Another year commences, (1844.) The crop and loss about the same as the last. Scarcely a planter had any revenue left after paying his expenses. Mr. Premium's loss was £1,540. "Men (says Mr. P.) could scarcely believe in the reality of their dreadful position. There is something so extraordinary in our position, so uncommon in the circumstance of a whole community going headlong to ruin, that one always inclines to believe it cannot last, and that the consummation, after all, will not take place." What rendered it still more provoking and intolerable was the fact that this overwhelming calamity was imposed upon them by a distant government, in contempt of their petitions, heedless of their remonstrances, and ignorant of their situation. What national calamity on God's earth can equal that of being governed by your enemies? And is that the bitter cup which the south, too, is to drink? Already in the hands of Wm. H. Seward, it is tendered to our lips, and where is the courage or virtue to dash it from the hands of the traitorous assassin?

Murders and other atrocious offences, rare before the emancipation, have now become frequent, especially outrages on defenceless females and female children, and we daily see accounts of similar atrocities now occurring at the north—the fruits of the same philosophy. The spirit of insubordination is taught to every class, and the entire intellectual and moral texture of society is grovelled and diseased, and men, as Lord Bacon says, have become so sensible of restraint that they go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Massachusetts, which, so long as it was her interest, authorized slavery, and even maintained bloodhounds for catching her runaways, is now too pure to tolerate wrong done in any quarter of the earth, and would rectify all the wrongs of Europe, Africa and America.—(1 vol. *Hildreth's His. U. S.*, 372–393.)—*Mais revenir à nos mouton.*

A planter, who made 700 hogsheads, assured the author that it took his whole crop of sugar to pay the expenses of his plantation; and he had only his rum clear. That constituted his whole income. There might be, he says, nearly a score of such plantations out of 200 left in the colony. Of the rest "there is not one that affords a revenue." The planters were living and supporting their estates by capital possessed independently of the West Indies, or by the little credit left them. Everything consumed was imported, and mostly from Eng-

land! Estates sold in 1844 fetched prices 50 per cent. below those of 1840. One estate, the Thomas, which was sold in 1839 for £20,000 was now sold for £8,000. Reserve and despondency characterize every one. Reserve, to avoid bringing down creditors upon them or losing the credit any might have left. A hint was enough to hasten on one's ruin and to consummate his "silent sorrow." The only purchasers were the merchants, who are always creditors, and they, even, often make luckless purchases, that would be dear as a present. One man bought an estate for £5,000, formerly valued at £30,000, and thought he had a wonderful bargain, but in two years was brought to a suspension of payments. Many plantations formerly worth half a plumb would now be accepted as a gift, on condition that they should be cultivated!

January, 1845.—Crops and circumstances pretty much as they were the preceding year. The same steady downward tendency. Some hope was inspired by the possibility of immigration from India. The issue of the coolie speculation will soon be seen. The crops and losses of 1846 were about on a par with those of 1845. The negroes began to gather into the towns in preference to the country, and few were willing to work regularly on the plantations for more than a year or two. "The negroes must be lords of all;" but they continue to have the same besetting sins—want of forethought, steadiness, and inclination to provide for the coming day. They cannot think of waiting a whole year for a sugar crop. "They will die before the time comes." They have no Saxon fondness for heirs and successors. Well, the coolies arrived. *By law*, they were to have ample accommodations from the planters, and a regularly educated medical attendant, with hospitals and proper attendants; such as the manufacturers, *we presume*, are compelled *by law* to furnish their miserable operatives in the manufacturing districts of the mother country. Say, Monsieur Leon Faucher, Mr. Kay,* or Mr. Gaskill, you who are so familiar with European, and particularly British, indigence, unsalubrious habitations, or no habitations, of her starving poor. No ample accommodations or regularly educated medical attendants are provided for them, "at home," by the law. But for these worthy coolies, and of those poor colonists, better things were required. Attended by their sirdars, they were there for weeks before they settled to their work, preferring to

* 50,000 families, says Mr. Kay, were turned out of their wretched dwellings in Ireland during the year 1849!—Kay's Condition of the Working Classes, 1 vol., 315. Gaskill's Man. Pop., 134. Etudes sur l'Angleterre, par Leon Faucher et Clement sur l'indigence.

parade about in their long, flowing, white, or party-colored garments, salaaming in the oriental fashion belonging to the class of old-school gentry. But it so happened that the crying wants of the poor "at home," this very year, were so loud and pressing, that British statesmen were compelled to reduce their sugar duties, by which these sugar planters had long been protected, which immediately operated as a bounty on the Portuguese and Spanish slave trade, and to all kinds of slave grown sugar! It was a deliverance from which they could not extricate themselves. But "home proprietors and mortgagees" being no longer interested since the payment of the £20,000,000, which mostly went to satisfy his claims, John Bull was now willing enough to have cheap sugar—yea, even slave grown sugar—though it did favor the African slave trade, by which he no longer turned a penny. So much for that wisdom which is taught by bigotry and mistaken humanity; for thus, while England is compelled by the progress of the age, and the necessities of her people, to adopt a wise course of commercial policy, the very act which so much contributes to the welfare and necessities of her people at home gives the *coup de grace* to those unfortunate colonists, who are in the hands of the mother country what dogs and cats are in the hands of the professors of a college of surgery—mere subjects of experiments for the benefit of the human race. "Bear-like," says Mr. Premium, "we are tied to the stake, and bear-like we must fight it out or perish!" "Alas! they cannot leave their doomed fields, where once they enjoyed wealth and happiness. The struggle must continue till, one by one, their destiny be accomplished; and the creditor, who has seized on the last farthing, has, in time, to run the same course and meet the same fatal termination." Was ever a people so contemned, so scorned, so injured, so irreparably ruined by one that claims to be its parent country, as these unfortunate colonists? Such a parent country can only be compared to the beast that eats its young. "I never," says Mr. Premium, with good reason, "felt before so moved by indignation, never before believed that a great empire, calling itself the champion and supporter of freedom and of the weak, could thus trample under foot the rights of both, adding, at the same time, to monstrous injuries a scornful disregard of the feelings, as well as the almost suppliant-like remonstrances of the colonists. I defy the most laborious and indefatigable searcher for precedents to find, in the history of the world, a case of more cruel oppression, or any rebellion which was based on bette

grounds. What was the taxation of America to this? The seizure of a fraction in comparison with the whole!"

To expect coolness from a planter under such circumstances, or under similar aggression, is like looking for smiles when the pistol of the robber is applied to the head of one whose pockets are being picked. Mr. Buxton, (Massa Buston, as the negroes called him,) declared in the House of Commons that the welfare of the British planter was now complete—that now his slaves were free he would be better able to compete with every rival he had in the world, and the cheers from the wiseacres of every part of the House proclaimed this death warrant as a boon to the unfortunate and hapless planter, and their fears were derided as they were in 1833, when they urged a just compensation for their landed property, after being deprived of their laborers. Acting on a foregone conclusion, it was clear to these people in their madness that the planters must be bettered by measures which they were so foolishly opposed to. Since 1838, when the negroes were declared entirely free, the expenses, Mr. Premium assures us, had increased fourfold, while the means of support have thus been removed. The current expenses of the province had now risen from £40,000, in 1831, to fully £200,000 in 1846. The extensive hospitals, teachers and catechists, maintained at enormous expense for the benefit of the emancipated classes; more than sixty clergymen and a host of schoolmasters, for a population of 120,000; a civil list much increased; last of all, a numerous and highly paid police, together with new goals and penal settlements, rendered necessary by the disorganized state of society, vastly added to the burden of the planter. Mr. Premium tells us that even Lord Stanley, now Lord Derby, while colonial secretary, acknowledged in the House of Lords that, in consequence of the reduction of their exports, the colony was not in a prosperous condition, though it has been the habit of the officials of England to represent the great success of the emancipation act. Since Lord Stanley's time, Mr. Premium declares, that up to the latest period misrepresentation of the condition of the colonies to the Parliament and the country has been systematically observed. "We have been like men bound hand and foot and thrown into a stream, while our countrymen stand quietly on the bank and allow us to sink." On every side fields formerly beautiful in the deep green luxuriance of the cane, are now covered with sour grass and weeds; and buildings mouldering in decay are now the solitary dwellings of tropical serpents and creeping reptiles, which formerly sent forth volumes of smoke that indicated the industry and prosperity of the land.

The most eager disputes occur every day in relation to work and wages. Too ignorant to make his own calculations, though every pains is taken by the foreman and overseer to prevent mistake or injustice, the jealousy of the laborer is such that he suspects cheating and trickery in everything; and there is, in consequence, no limit to violent abuse on one side, and to patient endurance on the other, until the magistrate is ultimately called upon to decide. Obtuse and confused in intellect, in his desire to make the amount as large as possible, the negro contrives to jumble the work to such a degree that he himself no longer understands it, but always concludes for the largest sum. They glory in being impudent to a white man, because they think it grand. "Obusha, how you make no more nor two dollars, eh?" "Because absent one day you did not finish your work the next." "Massa nigger! me no day in the field Torsday, budder Dave?" applying to another negro near him. "Da me you speak? da me you ax?" inquired David sharply. "Want me tell you war you dey Torsday? you tief, fowl on Willingham 'state—da your Torsday work," looking furiously at him. A general titter drives the abashed claimant back, and he who had just been so impudent to ob'sheer, was thus easily nonsuited by driver Dave. And it was thus, in the language of the same distinguished person, driver Dave, that every week they made "ruction." Drivers love big words, and we ourselves heard a driver, quite equal to Dave, say to his master, who had interfered in a quarrel between two of his slaves, "Neber mind, massa, neber mind—leave dem to me, I will *electrify* dem;" meaning he would settle all matters between them.

January, 1847.—The balance this year against the estate is even larger than usual, on account of the great outlay on coolies and Portuguese. The labor obtained from a negro, even in his disorganized state, was found to be as three to one, compared to that of the coolie. The Portuguese could not stand the climate. They were rapidly prostrated, and they soon went off with idiopathic fever. For three months Mr. P. was obliged to employ an overseer and doctor to attend, daily, the hospitals. It was necessary to give them large quantities of wine and nourishing food; and for the course of these three months he never had less than *twenty* ill, and six died. His own son frequently acted as hospital superintendent, and was attentive and sympathising. The coolies were seldomer in the field than any others, and did the least work when there. They are a frivolous race.

"The number of people," says Mr. P., "whom we have drawn here since the year 1835, is enough to stagger our faith in indiscriminate importation, and the crops are still fifty per cent. less than they were previously to the passing of the emancipation act; yet wages evince a decided tendency to rise—signs that too truly indicate the inadequacy of our additional workmen." "Rebellion," he very truly adds, "in all ages, would have been the result of such insufferable wrongs, if there was the slightest prospect of throwing off the yoke."

[To be continued.]

SELECTION OF SEED IN AGRICULTURE.

Chemistry is to put into rice used as seed a power to grow the plant in half its usual time, and moreover add thirty per cent. to the crop. So says Mr. Consul De Leon, from Egypt. Doubted. But it is not doubted, by me, that all our crops may be greatly augmented by a better selection of seed. It seems to be a law of nature that plants produce the most perfect seeds in the coldest climates which ripen them. Their *germinating* power is superior from their greater susceptibility to the stimulus of heat and moisture. This, alone, should be advantage enough to draw seed southward. But the *habit* which plants get, in a cold climate, of devoting their energies to the production of seed, rather than to the development of the plant, leaf, and stock, as in warm climates, is another and greater recommendation to select seed in a colder, to plant in a warmer clime. On the St. Lawrence river, the corn plant scarcely grows to more than one quarter the size it attains on the Mobile and lower Mississippi, but the acre-able product of grain that may be produced therefrom is nearly in an inverse ratio to the size of the stalk. One hundred and sixty bushels per acre may be produced near Montreal, on ground of like quality that, in the gulf States, would refuse to yield much over one quarter that amount. In wheat and other grains the difference is less, but yet very remarkable. The 1850 census returns of the crop of 1849 are imperfect, but show an approximation towards the truth. Dividing the States into cold and warm, leaving, to stand by themselves, as intermediate between the two sections, the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri, the Ohio river forming the other boundary between the cold and the warm States, the census exhibits the average crop as follows:

	Average bushels per acre			
	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.
The cold States.....	31 1-7	12½	26½	15½
The warm States.....	18	8½	14½	9
Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri...	25	11½	22½	

The difference is very much greater in favor of the cold States, in the maximum crops.

The average skill and diligence in the cultivation of corn (maize) is decidedly greater in the warm than in the cold States. Of course, in planting seed in a warmer climate than that in which it is matured, reference must be had to its northern habit, and it is proper to put in more seed. Corn having small stalks should not only have more stalks in the hill, but the hills should be planted much nearer to each other.

I have no doubt that the grain crop of the United States might be augmented by millions of bushels, I might almost say hundreds of millions, yearly, merely by a judicious choice of seed and a proper attention to the acquired habits of the plant, by adaptation in its culture.

J. W. SCOTT.

TOLEDO, OHIO, February, 1855.

Home and Foreign Commerce.

DEBTS AND SECURITIES.

The idea is constantly held out on the recurrence of every political or financial difficulty abroad, that American stocks will be returned to this market in order to invest the proceeds in the new war loans of the British and European governments. The theory has been maintained now nearly twenty years, and is based on the supposed discredit into which American securities fell in consequence of the disasters of 1837-'40. That great discredit did exist in those years is undeniably true; but that it now exists is far from being the case. On the other hand, the mode in which some of the States emerged from their financial difficulties illustrates the soundness of their securities. The amount of stocks due by the States of the Union was never, *per se*, a cause of discredit. They are, in themselves, in the eyes of people like foreign capitalists, who are accustomed to see the most inordinate debts balanced upon the exertions of a handful of people, but an insignificant sum. The American people number 24,000,000 in round numbers, of the most active, industrious, and thriving race, occupying a country of the most prolific wealth. This people owed, if we allow the national debt at the close of the Mexican war to have been \$64,000,000, an aggregate of \$338,000,000, or £64,330,000. This national debt is now but \$33,000,000, \$10,000,000 having been paid in gold in the last year. This debt is, with us, however, doubtless a serious matter, but in the eyes of foreigners not so. Great Britain, for instance, with a population of 27,000,000, has a debt of £772,530,758. As Ireland cannot be depended on for this debt, it may be all charged upon the English, and amounts to \$190 per head, against \$7 per head of debt in the United States. This English debt represents property once had and spent, now gone forever. A large portion of that in the United States represents substantial public works, worth the money they cost. Holland has a population of 2,915,396, about as many as the State of New York, and the national debt is £165,000,000, say \$825,000,000—\$275 per head. The debt of France, including the new loan of \$100,000,000, is \$1,171,163,636, nearly \$30 per head. Other countries of Europe are no better off. Now, bankers and stock jobbers, who have been helping to create such debts, by collecting the savings and surplus revenues of rich and poor, and investing them in these securities, were not frightened by a debt of \$7 per head due by the

United States. When, however, the people of the indebted States, swindled by jobbers and irritated at the squandering of the money, not only refused to pay, but denied the validity of the debt, they became alarmed, not so much at the actual loss of the money due them, as at the influence of the example upon the people of Europe. The debts due there were created without the assent of the people from whom was extorted the means of paying; and if the principle set up in Mississippi should obtain that no debt is valid, unless contracted in accordance with the letter of a law enacted by the people, on what a frail basis rests public securities! This principle has yet to be tested in Europe. The extension of the right of suffrage in England is impending, and must take place sooner or later. As an indication of the financial results to be apprehended from such an event, we may quote from Alison's History of Europe, vol. 4, page 436, Harper's edition:

"If Great Britain wants to shake off its national debt, it has only to extend the suffrage in any considerable degree, and the burden will not stand three months."

These are the apprehensions entertained by the aristocratic and monied classes, in relation to the effects of democratic influence, and they all have triumphantly appealed to the United States in proof of what they assert.

We recently quoted the speech of Samuel Gurney, the great London bill broker, in relation to the danger of increasing the war debt. In France, the revolutionary minister in 1858 announced in his report the capital of the public debt at £5,179,644,730, or \$971,163,636, having increased since 1841 \$171,061,749. The fall in the money value of this debt equalled \$327,000,000. M. Pages announced also—

"The English debt amounts to twenty milliards. It rests on the manufacturing and commercial subjection of the world—a variable and fragile basis—ours is only *five milliards*, and it has for its basis all the public and private property of France, an invariable basis, and every day stronger."

The principal of the debt is one-fourth that of England, but the annual payment is one-half that of England, owing to the higher rate of interest, and as the principal is never supposed payable, the debt is therefore actually half that of England, being \$80,000,000 against \$160,000,000, the annual charge of the English debt. It will be remembered that this bravado of M. Pages, in relation to French stability as compared with that of the English, was immediately after one of the most ruinous revulsions ever witnessed. We may take a table of prices of French stocks at different times:

PRICES OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT STOCKS.

	5 per cent.		3 per cent.	
	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.
1797.....	f. 8.5prf. 100	f. 6.16	.....	.....
1800.....	44.0	17.38	.....	.....
1804, Empire.....	59.75	51.00	.....	.....
1812 ".....	83.50	76.50	.....	.....
1814 ".....	80.00	45.00	.....	.....
1815, Waterloo.....	81.65	52.30	.....	.....
1816, Peace.....	64.40	54.30	.....	.....
1825, ".....	106.15	96.50	68.62	71.20
1830, Revolution.....	109.65	91.75	70.00	65.20
1831, ".....	93.40	75.00	60.50	46.00
1844.....	126.30	123.20	86.65	84.30
1848, February 22.....	116.75	116.50	74.00	73.20
1848, March 7.....	97.50	89.00	50.00	47.00
1848, April 7.....	52.10	50.00	37.00	33.00

The quotations were, it appears, for the five per cent.'s, less than during the "100 days" of 1814, having fallen under the administration of the provisional government during the revolution of 1848, 39 per cent. in one month, from fear of democratic ascendancy. The three per cent.'s, first created in 1825, fell 14 per cent., and were, in April, 1848, 50 per cent. lower than the lowest price resulting from the revolution of July, 1830. Nothing can express in a clearer light the dangers to which property holders are exposed. The prices quoted in 1848 were moreover nearly nominal; no sales to any extent could be made at anything approaching those prices. The Messrs. Rothschild took a 250,000,000*l.* loan in November, 1847, at 75. The loss on that stock alone was £4,200,000, at the rates of April. The London Times estimated the joint property of all the brothers at £26,000,000. They were relieved from the contract, and the awful revulsions which overtook the value of the stocks of all governments caused even their stability to be discussed. The value of all other vested property in France was affected to an extent greater than all the corporate and State debts of the United States; and the depreciation was felt to a greater or less extent throughout the continent. Even in England the famine and chartist movements sent consols to 80. In all those countries the storm has passed for a time, and values recovered.

But the expenses which revolution had entailed compelled almost all of these governments to borrow more, and there can be no stronger proof of the exceptional and precarious state of

Europe than the almost universal financial embarrassments then exhibited of the continental powers. With the exception of Holland, whose budget for 1852 displayed a surplus of upwards of three million florins over the actual expenditure, and Great Britain, where the public revenues had undergone the largest amount of reductions without diminishing the resources of the State, it may be doubted whether there was any government in Europe not living beyond its means, although the world was at peace, with no extraordinary causes to exhaust the public purse, except the dread of revolution. The revolution of 1848 found France in a position of financial tension, relying on the continuance of the prosperity she had enjoyed for the preceding ten years. When that prosperity was abruptly interrupted, the liquidation of her outstanding engagements could only be met, and was met only in part, by an enormous extraordinary contribution, a loan as soon as the credit of the republic was somewhat restored, and a constant augmentation of the floating debt, which has since been going on. France was followed by Russia, and, in spite of Mr. Cobden, the Russian loan of 1851 was the only one which found much favor with the capitalists of England, because its object was definite, and its amount small in comparison with the resources of the empire, and the Czar was in high favor. The lesser States, which had been actively engaged in war, Sardinia by her own folly, and Denmark by the folly of her assailants, were the next candidates for relief, and their wants were likewise supplied on not unfavorable terms. The Pope was compelled, on his return to Rome, to throw himself on the mercy of the Jews, and obtained, with difficulty, a sum sufficient to buy up the spurious notes of the Roman republic, and to put a few *bajocchi* in circulation in the Holy City. Prussia had flung away thirty millions of dollars on an absurd bravado; and though her finances were still in a better condition than those of many of her neighbors, from the care with which they had been administered in former years, the efficiency of her army, the value of her paper currency, and the continuance of her public works depended mainly on the credit she might find either at home or abroad. Austria had been laboring throughout the present century with all the evils of financial embarrassment—an inadequate revenue, a vicious and depreciated currency, and a system of taxation at once oppressive to the people and unproductive to the State. The convulsion of 1848, which imposed upon her the necessity of enormous military efforts in Italy, Hungary, and at home, found her in this state. It is surprising that means were found at all to

perform all that has been required of her, or that her ministers have chosen to undertake. But somehow or other the thing was done, and the consequence is, that eight millions sterling were, in 1851, urgently required to carry on the service of the empire, though, in spite of the exertions of the finance department and the Vienna bankers, not much more than half this money was forthcoming.

Many circumstances transpired to facilitate these financial operations, which would have appeared impossible at any former period. Money was abundant during the greater part of the time, at least after the continent recovered from the first shock of the revolution, and the first dread of general war, mainly because of the check which commercial and industrial enterprise received from those fears.

Europe is now embroiled in a fresh war, involving gigantic expenditure. Each of the governments has added largely to its debts, and the future holds out no prospect but that of annually increasing them, with the terrible certainty of popular convulsion far more general and effective than that of 1848, underlying the whole political structure of Europe, and the upturning of which must be more lastingly disastrous to property holders than were the revolutions of 1848.

Opposed to such existing facts and future prospects, the United States offer permanent peace and the utmost security. That extension of suffrage which in England is dreaded as the knell of State debts, has here been invoked for their support in the defaulting States. Among others, the State of Illinois has suffered deep damnation for faltering in her payments, and she had great reason for refusing to pay a shilling. So palpable was the justice of refusing to pay the sums of which she had been swindled, that her political leaders dared not tax. They, however, made a new constitution to submit to the people, and that clause in relation to the payment of the debt, as follows, they submitted separately:

"Article 15. There shall be annually assessed and collected, in the same manner as other State revenue may be assessed and collected, a tax of two mills upon each dollar's worth of taxable property, in addition to all other taxes, to be applied as follows, to wit: The fund so created shall be kept separate, and shall annually, on the first day of January, be apportioned and paid over pro rata upon all such State indebtedness, other than the canal and school indebtedness, as may, for that purpose, be presented by the holders of the same, to be entered upon as credits, and to that extent, in extinguishment of the principal of said indebtedness."

This is the first instance, probably, in the annals of government, where the question was submitted to the people themselves whether they would consent to pay an onerous specified tax to discharge a debt. The result has nobly vindicated the honor and magnanimity of a free people; by a large majority they have voted to pay the money, and the tax has been collected and applied in regularly increasing amounts. What can be a better basis for a public security than this free voice of the tax payers consenting to pay it? This assent has become a part of the organic law of the State. If repudiation tainted for a time the surface of the national character, the remedy has been radical. While European debts are tottering on the verge of revolution, those of the United States are becoming ratified through the action of that suffrage, the adoption of which, it is held, will be fatal to English securities.

It is also the case that most of the new State constitutions so limit the authority to contract new debts, that few new ones can be created, while sinking funds are operating to discharge old ones. That large sums have been spent in railroads is true, but these roads are necessary to open up the new land for the use of crowds of emigrant settlers, who last year purchased 6,000,000 acres of land of the federal government alone. Under these circumstances it is difficult to conceive on what principles prudent property holders should withdraw funds from America to invest in European loans, because a war supply of the latter has caused them to be cheaper.—*United States Economist.*

STATISTICS OF CHICAGO.

The Tribune, of Chicago, gives an annual statistical sheet of great historical value to that place. Some of the items must be interesting to our readers.

BEEF CATTLE.—The following table gives the number of beef cattle slaughtered at the several packing establishments in 1854:

	No. of cattle.	Average weight.	Total weight.
R. M. Hough & Co.....	4,500	620	2,796,000
G. S. Hubbard & Co.....	5,208	535	2,685,200
Cragin & Co.....	4,730	607	2,871,153
Andrew Brown & Co.....	2,000	650	1,300,000
B. Carpenter.....	1,650	575	948,750
Tobey & Booth.....	1,347	551	742,739
Reynolds & Heyward.....	3,172	530	1,681,160
F. L. Kent.....	550	600	330,000
Total.....	<u>23,157</u>	<u>5,768</u>	<u>13,319,082</u>

This shows what will appear abroad as a low average weight; but it must be recollected that many of the animals are two and three years old steers that have run, almost uncared for, upon the prairie at a cost to the grower of not exceeding \$10 a head. The average of 25,163 cattle packed the year before was 545½ lbs.

Twenty-three thousand beef cattle is a goodly number to be packed in one city in the few weeks time through which the packing season lasts. Besides, our table shows that 3,963,180 lbs. of live cattle were shipped during the season from Chicago, which, at the low average of four cents a pound, amounts to \$158,527 20. In addition to about 400 head of cattle consumed in Chicago alone, per week, there were shipped from that city, as will be seen from our tables, 54,017 barrels of beef, which, at \$13 per barrel, is \$702,221; also, 4,013 tierces of beef, worth \$20 per tierce, or \$80,260 in all. The whole value of beef shipped amounts, in value, to \$941,008 20. In addition to this, there was shipped 1,103,564 lbs. of tallow, valued at \$143,455 42, at 13 cents per lb. Also, 49,901 hides, of the value of \$173,953 50—making, in beef, tallow, and hides, \$1,258,421.

Most of the beef packed in this city is for the English market, where it is much preferred to any other that can be produced. The cause of the superiority of Chicago beef to the eastern and English beef is, principally, that Chicago cattle are entirely fed upon corn and prairie grass; are kept perfectly healthy by the pure winds; are never worked like those of the east, nor suffered to get old and tough. They grow up quick and tender, like the vegetation on which they feed, and are delicate and juicy. Great attention, also, is paid to packing this beef. No better, or more convenient, or extensive packing establishments are to be found than those which have sprung up in our suburbs on the Chicago river. The ruling price of cattle has been \$6 per cwt., net—making a sum of \$800,944 paid for bullocks.

GRAIN.—The following is the number of bushels shipped from Chicago in 1854: of wheat, 2,896,720; corn, 8,152,058; oats, rye, and barley, 2,639,798; total, 13,689,176.

We add a table of shipments of wheat from Wisconsin ports:

	Bushels.
Milwaukee.....	4,005,332
Racine.....	1,311,205
Kenosha.....	1,219,538
Sheboygan.....	292,573
Ozaukee.....	80,000
Green Bay.....	21,862
Total.....	6,930,510

This is reducing the flour shipped to bushels of wheat.

LUMBER.—The lumber trade seems, from the following table, to be enormous; but it must be recollected that the Illinois prairie is supplied from Chicago with all its building materials and considerable fencing stuff.

Receipts of lumber, &c., at Chicago, for 1854.

Lumber, pine.....	feet.	252,330,200
Lumber, oak.....	feet.	178,324
Lumber, black walnut.....		42,277
Lath, pine.....	pieces.	36,827,323
Shingles, pine.....	No.	113,354,651
Cedar posts.....		450,086
Staves and heading.....		1,397,695
Timber.....	square feet.	3,438,859
Spokes.....	No.	125,000

The following table is the most important, as it shows the real growth of the place for eighteen years :

Imports and Exports of Chicago.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1836.....	\$235,203 90	\$1,000 64
1837.....	374,677 12	11,665 00
1838.....	579,174 61	16,044 75
1839.....	630,980 26	33,843 00
1840.....	562,106 20	228,635 74
1841.....	564,347 20	348,862 24
1842.....	664,347 88	659,305 20
1843.....	971,849 75	682,210 53
1844.....	1,686,416 00	785,504 23
1845.....	2,043,445 73	1,543,519 83
1846.....	2,027,150 00	1,813,468 00
1847.....	2,641,852 32	2,296,299 00
1848.....	6,000,000 00	4,000,000 00
1849.....	6,000,000 00	5,600,000 00
1850.....	6,500,000 00	6,500,000 00
1851.....	8,000,000 00	7,000,000 00
1852.....	11,000,000 00	10,000,000 00
1853.....	17,000,000 00	15,000,000 00
1854.....	30,000,000 00	24,703,121 12

TRADE OF PITTSBURG.

We extract from a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, praying for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio river, either in the manner heretofore pursued, or by a system of locks and dams, as may seem best adapted to secure a continuous and permanent navigation of the river. The following is an account of the trade of the port:

Average number of arrivals and departures at this port annually.

First class steamers.....	1,712
Second...do.....	3,634
Keels, barges, and flatboats.....	3,230
	<hr/>
	8,576

Estimated amount of merchandise arriving and departing from this port in steam and keelboats annually, by the river.....tons....	740,460
Lumber.....tons....	50,000
Coal in barges and flats departing.....tons....	847,700
	<hr/>
Tons.....	1,638,160

Steamboats built and registered in this district in 1854.

Passenger steamers, 51.....tons....	11,004 44
Freight and towboats, 19.....tons....	2,793 03
	<hr/>
Tons.....	13,797 47-95

Carrying capacity.....tons....	25,000
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Cost.....	\$1,255,338
(Consuming per 24 hours 28,000 bushels coal.)	
In addition to the above, there were 8 boats built, but not yet registered, amounting to 3,500 tons, and costing.....	300,000

	1,555,338
Lumber in rafts departing.....	1,225,000
Amount of coal shipped from here, 23,738,906 bushels, worth when sold.....	3,000,000

Manufactured here and sent by river.

Iron and nails, valued at.....	\$7,500,000
Castings.....	700,000
Stoves.....	300,000
Springs and axles, vices and spring steel.....	566,000
Shovels, forks, picks, axes, &c.....	390,000
Locks, latches, scales, &c.....	350,000
Iron safes.....	60,000

Steam engines, (exclusive of those placed in boats here,) sugar and cotton mills, &c.....	\$500,000
White and red lead and litharge.....	640,000
Cotton yarns, sheetings, &c.....	949,000
Glass—Flint.....	\$650,000
Window.....	800,000
Bottles, vials, &c.....	400,000
	<hr/> 2,050,000
Wagons, carts, wheelbarrows, carriages, &c....	350,000
Ploughs and farming implements.....	75,000
Furniture.....	100,000
Salt in barrels.....	80,000
Soda ash, 2,000 tons.....	130,000
Ale, porter, beer, and malt.....	780,000
Value of the above, shipped by the river.....	450,000

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS OF MOBILE.

*Comparative table of exports and receipts of cotton at this port at the end of February,
for twenty-five years:*

	Great Britain.	France.	Oriental ports.	Coastwise.	Total.	Receipts.
1830.....	8,156	2,707	5,408	17,391	33,662	53,697
1831.....	12,801	2,107	1,479	13,538	29,925	59,934
1832.....	7,264	8,866	3,081	23,336	42,647	76,220
1833.....	21,220	8,993	2,876	9,406	44,413	79,900
1834.....	24,633	5,794	660	11,430	42,517	79,613
1835.....	27,310	14,483	1,411	35,968	79,172	144,949
1836.....	33,005	13,020	1,770	35,269	83,064	150,924
1837.....	49,630	16,894	1,126	21,581	89,631	147,861
1838.....	48,796	21,643	3,574	50,990	125,003	220,378
1839.....	41,199	13,370	1,050	52,724	108,343	203,953
1840.....	32,298	18,507	1,050	26,946	78,801	247,680
1841.....	33,109	6,586	6,076	65,257	111,028	207,551
1842.....	63,111	18,651	3,656	38,267	123,685	222,877
1843.....	115,587	19,396	3,999	56,026	195,008	314,195
1844.....	32,758	19,329	1,199	124,848	178,134	301,806
1845.....	75,575	30,745	18,688	73,457	198,475	376,521
1846.....	65,165	24,930	5,648	42,739	138,482	314,896
1847.....	25,158	14,738	9,653	38,598	88,147	255,948
1848.....	60,200	39,855	15,595	44,740	160,541	310,676
1849.....	136,087	31,421	21,170	84,282	272,964	407,185
1850.....	54,025	24,221	5,932	57,715	141,893	272,878
1851.....	76,067	35,574	14,520	50,776	176,937	343,711
1852.....	105,859	48,381	11,028	70,221	235,489	347,182
1853.....	141,616	28,563	11,086	114,813	296,078	453,794
1854.....	91,575	39,396	10,466	80,463	221,900	379,833
1855.....	83,987	38,358	6,454	27,498	156,297	181,642

MOBILE.—Comparative table showing the stock of cotton at this port, together with the rates of freight to Liverpool, Havre, and New York, and the price of middlings at or near 1st of March in the following years:

	Stock.	Freight to Liverpool.	Freight to Havre.	Freight to New York.	Price of middlings.
1855.....	54,623	11-32a $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	13-16c.	$\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ a8
1854.....	165,449	$\frac{1}{2}$ a13-16d.	.....	—a	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1853.....	160,035	11-16a d.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	—a	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a—
1852.....	143,521	$\frac{1}{2}$ a13-32d.	$\frac{1}{2}$ c.	—a	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ a7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1851.....	179,736	11-16a $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ a1	10 a—
1850.....	136,031	9-32 d.	27-32c.	—a	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ a—
1849.....	157,805	17-32a 9-16d.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	—a	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ a—
1848.....	174,307	$\frac{1}{2}$ a17-32d.	.....	—a	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ a6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1847.....	176,797	13-16a— d.	2 c.	—a1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ a9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1846.....	177,024	7-16a— d.	.....	—a9-16	—a6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1845.....	182,321	$\frac{1}{2}$ a17-32d.	13-16c.	—a $\frac{1}{2}$	—a5
1844.....	124,800	—a 9-16d.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	—a11-16	8 a—
1843.....	127,091	13-16a $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	$\frac{1}{2}$ a1	5 a5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1842.....	99,552	$\frac{1}{2}$ a 9-16d.	1 3-16	—a $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ a8

UNITED STATES.—Receipts at all the ports to latest dates, (March 1,) and for balances of the season, with total crops in the following years:

	Receipts to date.	Received subsequently	Total crop.
1854-'5.....	1,603,438	.....	.....
1854.....	1,827,820	1,102,207	2,930,027
1853.....	2,452,379	810,503	3,262,882
1852.....	1,910,128	1,104,901	3,015,029
1851.....	1,692,506	662,751	2,355,257
1850.....	1,556,738	539,968	2,096,706
1849.....	1,845,541	883,052	2,728,593
1848.....	1,469,625	878,209	2,347,834
1847.....	1,328,463	450,189	1,778,652
1846.....	1,294,413	806,124	2,100,537
1845.....	1,627,906	766,597	2,394,503
1844.....	1,354,360	676,049	2,030,409
1843.....	1,720,397	658,475	2,378,872

UNITED STATES.—Comparative view of the foreign exports of cotton at the latest dates (March 1) in the following years:

	1855.	1854.	1853.	1852.	1851.
To Great Britain.....	793,612	575,128	954,917	668,329	550,555
To France.....	189,710	181,038	180,377	254,512	216,666
Other foreign ports...	138,232	133,194	173,067	130,055	124,992
Total.....	1,121,554	889,360	1,308,361	1,052,896	892,213
Stock.....	414,471	754,993	810,512	569,542	686,596
Receipts.....	1,603,438	1,827,820	2,452,379	1,910,128	1,692,506

SUGAR TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Weekly receipts of cotton by rivers, railroad, and wagons, at this port, from September 1, 1854, to March 1, 1855.

	Ala.	Big.	War.	R. R.	Wagons.	Total.
1854.						
September 8	815	20	.....	79	.....	914
15	759	28	.....	34	.....	821
22	3,800	43	.....	57	.....	3,900
29	3,425	556	.....	46	4	4,031
October 6	3,195	1,646	256	36	.....	5,133
13	4,776	1,748	.....	71	.....	6,595
20	1,139	397	.....	124	20	1,680
27	2,551	50	.....	144	.....	2,745
November 1	2,375	.....	.....	100	.....	2,475
10	4,682	340	.....	172	6	5,200
17	7,611	332	.....	369	*18	8,330
24	8,744	165	.....	366	10	9,285
December 1	7,197	743	.....	629	51	8,620
8	6,345	1,004	.....	745	75	8,169
15	4,408	623	.....	676	67	5,774
22	4,563	690	.....	803	59	6,115
29	4,276	601	.....	616	13	5,506
1855.						
January 5	7,100	889	.....	666	22	8,677
12	7,147	725	.....	778	60	8,710
19	7,260	2,158	.....	807	42	10,267
26	7,570	2,625	.....	752	52	10,999
February 2	7,539	906	.....	742	31	9,218
9	6,478	1,440	.....	773	96	8,783
16	5,269	1,297	.....	791	67	7,424
23	10,966	4,283	.....	654	30	15,933
March 2	12,131	3,093	322	772	16	16,334
Total	142,121	26,402	578	11,802	739	181,642

* Six bales received from Texas, added to wagon receipts.

Comparative number of vessels in port.

March 2.	1855	1854	1853	1852	1851	1850	1849	1848	1847
Ships	39	25	22	41	26	46	31	39	15
Barks	15	11	11	14	7	8	7	10	13
Brigs	9	7	3	5	6	5	5	9	19
Total	63	43	36	60	39	59	43	58	47
Of which Br.	12	19	17	19	8	29	22	26	20

SUGAR TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The New York shipping list has prepared valuable statements and tables exhibiting the sugar trade of the United States, from which we learn that the total receipt of foreign unrefined sugar into the United States for the year ending December 31,

1854, was 165,924 tons, against receipts of 212,746 tons in 1853, and the quantity taken for consumption in 1854, was 150,855 tons, against 200,610 tons consumption in 1853, 196,558 tons in 1852, 181,047 tons in 1851, and 143,015 in 1850, being a decrease in the consumption of 1854, as compared with 1853, of 49,756 tons, or over 24 per cent., while the total consumption of 1854, (assuming the stock of domestic 1st January each year to be equal,) was 385,298 tons, against 372,989 tons in 1853, or an increase of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The very large falling off in the quantity of foreign taken, is attributable chiefly to the unprecedented crop of Louisiana, which was 449,324 hhds. and the low price at which it was offered, the yield being by far the largest ever gathered in that State, though produced from a smaller number of plantations, some growers having abandoned the culture of the cane and substituted cotton, the returns obtained not being considered remunerative. The increase in the consumption for some years has been at the rate of 9 a 10 per cent., but the past years it has only been a little over 8 per cent., owing to the stagnation that has pervaded the channels of trade, and the embarrassment and depression that has existed almost throughout its entire course.

The quantity of sugar made from molasses the past year shows a considerable diminution when compared with the quantity so produced in 1853; it is estimated at 12,623 tons, or 50,000 hhds., 53,000 yielding 500 lbs. each, and 3,000 of concentrated 600 lbs. each, against 66,500 hhds. (14,977 tons) in 1853; the estimate given is believed to be rather over than under the actual amount; this falling off is owing, in a great measure, to the low prices that have ruled for raw sugar, and the high rates which molasses has commanded, thus diminishing the profits and production, and rendering the business unremunerative. If to the above figures we now add the yield of the maple tree, say 12,300 tons, and the estimated consumption of California and Oregon, 4,700 tons, would give a total consumption in the United States of 414,931 tons.

THE MOUTHS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Report made by a special board detailed by the War Department.

[See De Bow's Review for July, 1854.]

"The board, while they feel the immense importance of the task imposed on them, are yet more conscious of the extreme difficulty of the problem submitted to their consideration."

"They find, in the various and conflicting theories and projects put forward by eminent engineers; in the exceptional character of the subject itself; in the want of analogy to anything heretofore undertaken, and consequent want of precedent; and in the extreme uncertainty attending analogous operations on a much smaller scale, great cause to distrust any opinion they may form themselves, and equal cause to distrust the projects of theorists who have made all their observations and facts subservient to a preconceived opinion."—See page 17.

The "problem" referred to in the first extract is contained in the question of the Secretary of War, viz: "What is the proper method of securing a depth of water over the bar adequate to the wants of commerce?" The "extreme difficulty" must exist either in the uncertainty of discovering this "proper method"—in other words, the means to be used—or, the proper method having been discovered, in its impracticability in the case of the Mississippi.

When a defect of any kind exists, the first question that arises in a well regulated mind is, What cause has produced it? The next, Can that cause be removed, and how?

The defect in the case of the Mississippi arises from the quantity of alluvial sediment, or mud, that has accumulated at the mouths of the passes. What then has caused these shoals or bars? The cause may be said to consist of a series of causes, separate and distinct from, yet connected with and dependent on each other, and all combining to produce those bars. The first, which is active, is found in the fact that water flowing in the bed of a river of movable bottom, carries seaward the mud, sand, and gravel over which it runs, just in proportion to its pressure, volume, and velocity, and the lightness of the material lifted from or swept along the bed; or, in other words, that water has a tendency to remove seaward mud, sand, and gravel, and to regulate its depth just in proportion to its scouring power. The others may be said to be counteracting causes, because by their operation they interfere with the first, and so check its action as to form those shoals, or bars, where they are. Those causes are, the division of the main volume of the water, and its distribution through innumerable outlets, the too great width, and the low banks of the passes at the mouth, and the resistance of the waters of the Gulf at the same point. Here we have one acting and three counteracting causes, all of which combined produce the bars where they are. That is, the three counteracting causes united are barely sufficient to negative

the effect of the acting one ; the natural tendency of which, if not thus checked, would be to remove the bars, or rather to prevent their formation. If, therefore, the first two of these three counteracting causes could be considerably modified, if not altogether removed, is it not evident, that the acting one would acquire such a preponderance over the only remaining obstacle, the resistance of the Gulf, as to overcome it for a considerable distance beyond the mouth of the river ; and thus, by the natural exercise of its concentrated power sweep before it into the deep water outside the soft sediment now almost choking up the mouth of the river ?

So far, then, as the causes that produce those bars are concerned, there can hardly be any "difficulty" in the problem.

What composes the bar? Mud. Where did it come from? The upland country. What brought it down the river? The natural power of the current. What caused it to accumulate at the mouth of the river? The diminution of the natural power of the current, caused by the waste of water passing through the outlets, and the too great width of the channel, and low banks at the mouth. These things have rendered it unable to overcome the resistance of the Gulf water, or carry its sediment farther seaward. This cause is plain.

Neither is it "difficult" to decide as to the means of removing those bars. If the too great width of the channel at the mouth, and the dispersion of the water through the outlets and over the low banks, diminish the natural power of the current so as to cause the accumulation of mud there, does it require any argument to prove that the closing of the outlets, with a suitable regulation of the channel, must inevitably lead to a gradual removal of that accumulation.

When rivers of moveable bottom possess a sufficient quantity of water, with a suitable fall, it is usual to resort to it as the agent to accomplish the desired improvement ; and, in every instance, the obstructions that previously existed have been removed without the application of any other agency than the scouring power of the water itself ; while the bed of the river has invariably been deepened in proportion to the contraction of the channel, or concentration of the water, and consequent increase of its velocity. The confining of the water of a river to one channel of a proper width and direction is always followed by an increase in its velocity, while the proper adjustment of the bed renders that velocity still more effective.

If, then, there is any "problem" involved in the improvement of rivers, it is one that has been solved long ago. And

if there be any "extreme difficulty" connected with it, it can be found only in the minds of those who make "all their observations and facts subservient to a preconceived opinion."

Instances of the improvements of rivers at the entrance of harbors, carried out successfully on these principles, are numerous and well authenticated. The Wear, in England, formerly discharged itself into the North sea, over a shoal formed partly of the mud of the river, and partly of the sand and shingle washed up by the sea. This bar was caused by the too great expansion and defective direction of the river at its mouth, which destroyed the scouring power of the current. Since the channel at the mouth has been contracted, and the water confined to a proper width and direction, so as to give it increased velocity, the current has cleared out a channel for itself over the bar, so as to allow large vessels to enter the port of Sunderland, situated on that river.

Outside of the mouth of the Dee, in Scotland, there formerly existed a sand bank, so formidable as not to allow even small crafts to pass without difficulty and danger. It was nearly dry at low water and was caused by the influence of easterly storms, which choked up the embouchure of the river when in a low state, from the want of a sufficiently powerful and well directed out-going current. But art, acting on the principles here laid down, of contracting the channel of the river at the mouth, concentrating the water, and thereby increasing its velocity, has removed the impediment so that the entrance, which is the principal feature of almost every harbor, is no longer difficult or dangerous; while the port within is safe and commodious. The increased population, trade and shipping of the city of Aberdeen prove the wisdom of the undertaking by the beneficial results that have followed it.

Many other rivers may be mentioned that have been improved in the same way, both in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. This mode of improvement is always attended with success, because it removes the defect by first taking away the cause; consequently, where the work is judiciously carried out the defect cannot return. The greater size of the Mississippi river may increase the necessary amount of work, and make it more costly, but it cannot affect the principle on which it should be carried out, because it is based upon the universal laws of nature.

On the other hand, dredging, or stirring up the bottom, where the bed of a river is composed of light sand or alluvial mud, never can be permanently successful, because, while it removes the defect for a time, it leaves the cause still in action,

and consequently the shoals that have been removed are sure to be replaced by fresh deposits. It has been tried without success in the following named rivers: Mersey and Thames in England, Frith of Forth in Scotland, Liffey in Ireland, Elbe in Germany, Garonne in France, and many others that might be easily named.

The observations that have been made by the above named special board on the cause of the formation of the bar at the mouth of the southwest pass ought to convince any reasonable man that a permanent improvement in its capacity for navigation can only be secured by works operating in accordance with the principles above advocated; and that, under existing circumstances, no such improvement can be expected from any system of dredging or stirring up the bottom.

A very brief examination, based upon actual calculation and measurement, would be sufficient to demonstrate that to undertake to keep the mouths of the Mississippi sufficiently open and deep to answer the wants of its rapidly increasing commerce, by means of dredging, would be an endless as well as a hopeless task. Assuming the average quantity of water passing down the channel of the Mississippi at 510,000 cubic feet per second, and the quantity of sedimentary matter suspended in the water to be 1 in 3,000, by volume, the quantity of mud discharged will be 170 cubic feet per second. Taking the weight of 17 cubic feet to be equal to one ton, the daily discharge will be 864,000 tons. If a fleet of 1,728 ships, each freighted with 500 tons of mud, were to sail down the river daily, with the same burden, and discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, it would be no more than equivalent to the average daily operation of the river. A well constructed dredge of 16 horse-power, under favorable circumstances will raise 140 tons of mud per hour, including discharging the lighters. According to this estimate the excavation of the above 864,000 tons would require about 770 dredging machines per day.

How insignificant must appear the performance of one or two of these dredging machines compared with the regular daily operations of the Mississippi, and how rapidly would the excavated holes be filled up again by its deposits.

In order to secure for the Mississippi such an enlargement of its navigable capacity as would be really desirable and permanent, the river itself must be made the agent, and a suitable contraction and direction of the channel at the mouths of the principal passes, with the gradual shutting up of all the bayous and outlets that now serve to drain off and exhaust the volume of its waters from those passes must be the means.

MILITARY STRENGTH IN EUROPE.

The New York Daily Times of the 9th instant, gives the following statistics, which will, no doubt, be read with interest at the present time :

GREAT BRITAIN.—As the usual peace establishment, there are, of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, (the regular soldiers of the kingdom,) in	
Great Britain.....	37,845
Ireland.....	7,915
European colonies.....	30,467
America, &c.....	19,839
Africa.....	3,703
	<hr/>
	123,763
Pensioners.....	30,000
Dockyards men.....	8,000
Yeomenry.....	13,441
Militia in channel islands.....	4,700
	<hr/>
	56,141
Grand total.....	<hr/>
	189,909

This is apparently a large force, but it will be seen that little more than 60,000 British soldiers are actually to be found in Great Britain and Ireland, and these are so necessary for the preservation of the internal peace of these islands that very few could be detached from them. Therefore, when war was inevitable, means were taken to increase the army, and put it upon a war footing. For this purpose, the militia (which had long been shelved) was reëmbodied, and, by doing duty in the place of the regular soldiery, allowed the latter to be detached on foreign service. Parliament also consented to the augmentation of the standing army. Troops were called in from colonial duty. Some of the regiments quartered in Ireland have been removed, and the defenses of that country were exclusively entrusted to the army of police, which over-runs it. The result is that about 40,000 of the regular army have been sent, from first to last, to the Crimea, (of whom 10,000 and upwards have fallen victims to war and sickness,) and, while England has very greatly diminished the strength of her internal defenses, to permit this great draft of military to be made, her army is the smallest, for her population, of any country in Europe.

FRANCE.—The regular peace establishment here is very

great, with enormous power of augmentation by means of conscription. It may be estimated thus :

Infantry	301,224
Cavalry	58,932
Artillery	30,166
Engineers, &c.	18,298
Total	<u>408,630</u>

This is the regular peace establishment. A great portion of this immense force is quartered in Africa. A large portion is scattered all over France for the maintenance of "order." Since affairs assumed a warlike aspect, Louis Napoleon has gradually added 100,000 to his army. It is expected that he intends asking his obsequious senate to sanction the levy of 200,000 more without delay. This would raise his military strength, actually available for service in the field, to admit 359,000 men at arms. And there is this advantage to him, that two-thirds of the conscripts are not merely the raw material out which soldiers are to be made. The *ci-devant* National Guards of France amounted to 2,630,800 men, all in good discipline, and familiar with the exercises and weapons of warfare. The bulk of the additional soldiers would be drawn from this source. It would be very easy, if he pleased, for Louis Napoleon to augment his actual fighting men, ready to march to any part of Europe, from 350,000 to 500,000.

AUSTRIA.—At this crisis, Austria has arrayed the whole of her war strength. In peace, the Austrian army is 378,552 in force. In war, (besides the landwehr, or militia,) which is fully adequate for internal defence,) it is nearly double, as the following estimate shows :

Infantry	484,240
Cavalry	54,560
Artillery	26,104
Engineers, &c.	56,549
Total	<u>626,453</u>
Landwehr	200,000

Out of these 800,000 soldiers, fully one-half are now ready for actual war service. About 250,000 more could be added, by a new levy, in a few weeks. These, however, would not be immediately capable of manœuvring in the field of battle, although the elder Napoleon was accustomed to march his conscripts directly into the field.

PRUSSIA.—Of all the military powers of Europe none is

better prepared for war than Prussia. Her regulars and land-sturm (the last liable to be ordered on foreign service) may thus be numbered :

Infantry	265,530
Cavalry	49,662
Engineers, &c.....	40,800
Artillery.....	23,400
Total.....	222,416

By putting on the screw—that is, by ordering a war levy—Prussia could immediately incorporate her militia and her regulars, thereby raising her fighting army to 601,808 men, while a new militia could readily be embodied for the internal service and defense of the country.

These data, which are sufficiently close for a general consideration of the subject, will allow some adequate opinion to be formed of the actual military resources of the European powers now actually engaged in war, or hovering upon the verge of it. England, in all her receipts, except the ability to raise money, is the worst prepared and worst provided of all the great nations. Even with the strong support of France, so essentially a military nation, she can scarcely hope to make way against the enormous numerical force of the Czar. And if Prussia or Austria, or both, should side with Nicholas, the chances of success are tremendously augmented on the side of Russia.*

SAVANNAH AND CHARLESTON.

A writer in the *Savannah News* thus refers to the rivalry of those cities for western trade: "The action of the citizens of Hamburg, as subscribers to the 'Savannah river valley road,' at a recent meeting, develops the information that Savannah may be called upon to contribute in a degree toward that enterprise. Without discussing the point whether this city is in condition to give immediate or prospective aid, I propose to furnish some information, which, if not new, will at least refreshen the memory, and, I hope, present that enterprise in a favorable light to this community. My object is twofold—first and immediate, to impress upon the citizens of Savannah the importance of the road to their interests. Secondly, and more especially, to illustrate the true policy, both of Charleston and Savannah, in reference to their great enterprises, in order to attract freely and firmly the trade of the great west.

* The Russian statistics will be found in our last number.

"The actual or suspected partiality of the people of Georgia to their own sea-port, Savannah, in the eyes of the too sensitive Charlestonians, had some time since determined the latter to resume, at all hazards, a work proposed, undertaken, and abandoned many years since. Proposed, because experienced foresight guided in wisdom its ultimate necessity—undertaken, for its brilliancy of conception invited the sympathetic and patronizing aid of a large class, capable of its execution; yet abandoned, in consequence of an adverse interest having presented still further attractions, with the greater certainty of attaining the result contemplated, and at an earlier period. Thus, the inherent worth of its own enterprise became obscured by the practical energy infused into the work of its neighbor. And thus the great west, whose vast resources and trade were the object of so much solicitude, was attempted to be secured by Charleston, over the conveniences established by a distinct or rival power, and for alien purposes.

"The virtual connexion having been completed, and the tapping of that fertile region having produced the anticipated effect, Charleston became alarmed because a fraction only of western trade had accidentally turned into its legitimate channel and found its way to Savannah by the route opened for it. Some three years ago, and at an opportune moment, she availed herself of a temporary disarrangement of the machinery of the Georgia enterprise, and enlisted the sympathies of her people, claiming that her large expenditures were proving unavailable, because of the incapacity of the Georgia State road to accommodate *her* trade passing over it, and that it was necessary for her position, as the natural outlet for the trade of the west, that she have an independent connexion through the borders of her own State with those roads, which she had identified herself with, and which were on the eve of completion. The plea was successful. The city and State, and circles beyond the State, through which the new route would pass, all became interested, and in an incredible short space of time a company was organized, the route surveyed, located and contracted for over its whole distance. The city, State and vicinity are pledged for its completion, which at this moment seems to be a question of time, only selecting Anderson in South Carolina as the starting point. Charleston is now pushing the road westward, leaving the State at or near the Rabun Gap in Georgia, under the name of the Blue Ridge railroad. She passes into North Carolina, where she will be met by an extension from Knoxville, Tennessee, or some other point on the east Tennessee or Georgia railroad, the com-

pletion of which places her in direct communication with Nashville and Memphis, via Chattanooga, the terminus of the Georgia projection, on the Tennessee river in the State of Tennessee. As remarked, this road is contracted for entirely from Knoxville to Anderson, a distance of 190 miles, to be completed in less than three years, at an agreed price of \$7,500,000—the State of South Carolina subscribing \$2,000,000, Charleston \$500,000, Tennessee and North Carolina \$1,250,000, and the contracting parties receiving the bonds of the company in payment for \$3,750,000.

“Charleston is at present connected with Anderson by the Greenville and Columbia road, via Columbia, a distance of 257 miles. This connexion is circuitous and not reliable. It is proposed to run a line direct from Anderson and Aiken on the South Carolina railroad, which will be 28 miles shorter than via Columbia, and will pass through a section of country of valuable local importance, the trade of which, in part only, is now direct to Charleston.

“*Aikin*, as will be seen by reference to a map of South Carolina, is at a bend of the South Carolina road, and 17 miles from Hamburg. Its position on the map appears highly favorable for a direct connexion with Anderson. This favorable appearance has made the proposition of the Blue Ridge road to connect there seem reasonable, since they build their road avowedly for the good of their own State. The real object, however, is to avoid Hamburg and Augusta, for they argue among themselves—if we touch at Augusta, all of our expenditures will tend as much to the promotion of Savannah interest as to the interest Charleston, the actual distance to Savannah being less than to Charleston from Knoxville or Anderson. To build this link, they rely mainly upon the local subscription along the road, assurances having been given that Anderson would connect herself with the South Carolina railroad, providing she was made the starting point for the west.

“Fortunately for the interests of Savannah, and for other opposing interests to Charleston, Hamburg has a vital interest in the matter. A route diverging by her door, and connecting at Aikin, would take from her its most valuable trade. She has already been a great sufferer by the Greenville road to Columbia, and has some time since calculated the effect upon her of a direct connexion between Anderson and Aikin. She is, and has been, diligent in the exertion to counteract the scheme—even so far as to make the Blue Ridge enterprise of value to her, by restoring the lost trade passing to Columbia.

"Her plans are simple, feasible, and promise success; yet she is incompetent to accomplish the work alone.

"She seeks the direct connexion with Anderson. She has obtained a favorable charter from the State, under the name of the 'Savannah River Valley Railroad Company;' has had the route surveyed, and the engineer, F. C. Arms, esq., has reported upon the survey, its distance by measurement, and its cost by estimate. The route is favorable, its distance ninety-two miles, and its cost, with outfit, \$1,800,000. Subscription lists have been opened along the line, and private sums to over \$600,000 are pledged. State aid has been invoked, and \$250,000 received from it as subscription. It is supposed 150,000 private subscriptions will yet be received, making \$1,000,000 secure to the link, and leaving \$800,000 to be obtained from other sources.

"The city of Augusta, keenly alive to the importance of this connexion with Hamburg—virtually the same as if with herself—has promised a liberal subscription, and it is believed \$500,000 will be conditionally tendered it. Those conditions, of a nature to suit Augusta, must prove equally so for Savannah; since whatever property that city enjoys our own must be proportionally enhanced. There will still remain some \$300,000 to be furnished. Hamburg looks to Savannah for a portion of of this. She also hopes for aid from Charleston—but to Savannah most earnestly; since Savannah, by the completion of the valley road, will be benefitted to the extent that Charleston suffers; and Charleston, having already a connexion via Columbia, will prove indifferent to a subscription, particularly if opposite to her interests. Hamburg thus proposes, indirectly, an alliance with Savannah, and of the most intimate character. She has influence, capital and trade. These influences will be tendered to Savannah, for the reason that Savannah, by giving aid to the enterprise, becomes identified with Hamburg in interest, as by nature she has undoubtedly been.

"I propose in another communication to point out advantages Savannah will enjoy by the completion of this route—the nature of the trade that will pass over it; also the impossibility that the Blue Ridge can ever prove a rival for the carrying trade of that portion of the west—a trade most desirable for the south, and which the projection of the Georgia enterprises was intended to command.

CHATHAM."

SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION AT NEW ORLEANS.—NO. 2.

DISCUSSION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

THIRD DAY.—The convention met at noon. The roll was called, and a prayer offered by the Rev. H. N. McTyeire, of New Orleans.

On motion, the reading of the journal was dispensed with.

Mr. Lumsden, of Louisiana, moved that the list of vice presidents be called, and that those who were present take their seats on the stage.

Mr. Lathrop, of Louisiana, stated that there were vacancies in the list, and moved that they be filled by the delegations of the States unrepresented in the list. Mr. R. C. Nichols, of Louisiana, Mr. Wm. C. Hewitt, of Virginia, Major J. Cannon, of Kentucky, and Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, were thereupon added to the list.

A letter was read to the convention from Mr. Richard Madden, of New Orleans, in reference to a line of steamers between New Orleans and Europe, and favoring Galway, Ireland, as the proper point of communication. The letter was laid on the table subject to call.

Hon. John Moore, of Louisiana, chairman of the General Committee, reported favorably upon various resolutions that had been referred to the committee, which have already been published. The report was laid on the table subject to call.

On motion of Mr. Lumsden, it was ordered that the resolutions be printed for the use of the convention.

Capt. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, chairman of the committee on the Pacific railroad, rose to present his report. At the desire of the convention he went upon the stage and said :

MR. PRESIDENT : I am instructed by the special committee, to which was referred the consideration of the proposed project for the construction of a southern Pacific railroad, to report a series of resolutions embodying the conclusions, without argument, to which this committee has arrived ; and which resolutions the committee recommend this convention to adopt :

1. *Resolved*, That the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean, from proper points on the Mississippi river, within the slave-holding States of the Union, is not only important to those States, but indispensable to their welfare and prosperity, and even to their continued existence as equal and independent members of the confederacy.

2. That it is the duty of the general government to aid in the construction of such a road, by grants of land to an extent limited only by the necessity of the case, and by contracting with the company engaging to build such road for the carriage thereon, during a term of years, of the mails, troops, and munitions of war, of the United States, and by every other constitutional means in its power.

3. That such southern Pacific railroad ought to be built upon the route indicated by the southern and southwestern commercial convention, which met at Charleston, in April last, that being upon the most direct line of communication between the ports of Europe and those of the Indies and of China.

4. That such road ought not to belong to the general government, nor to foreign capitalists or speculators, but should be built by a corporation chartered by a southern State, and, as far as practicable, with southern capital ; and, in the opinion of this convention, all of the southern States that can constitutionally and properly do so, should give aid and encouragement to this great enterprise, by becoming stockholders of the company to be created.

5. That this convention approve and adopt the views and sentiments expressed in the memoir of the committee of the Charleston convention, on the subject of the southern Pacific railroad, addressed to the governors of the several slave-holding States, when taken in connexion with the second of the present resolutions.

6. That this convention approves of the general features of the plan for the construction of a southern Pacific railroad, adopted by the convention at Charleston, and commends it to the favorable consideration of the several southern States, and recommends that immediate application be made to the legislature of the State of Louisiana, for such a charter as is understood by that plan and the resolutions on that subject, of the said convention.

7. That this convention approves in the main of the draft of a charter for the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, as prepared by the committee of the Charleston convention; and that a committee of five members of this convention be now appointed by the President, whose duty it shall be to take charge of said charter, and after making such changes and amendments therein as to them may seem necessary and proper, to present the same to the legislature of Louisiana, now in session, and urge its passage by that body; and this convention most respectfully and earnestly requests that legislature to enact the same, with such modifications as to it in its wisdom may seem fit.

Captain Pike then proceeded to address the convention, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: I feel greatly embarrassed in arising to address this convention in regard to this project, and the kindred subjects which properly engage its attention. The flattering encomiums which the too great kindness of my friends has bestowed upon me through the medium of the public press, and the still more flattering and less deserved eulogy of the president of this convention, painfully impress upon me that, if the public expectation is in any degree proportioned to those heraldings, their expectation cannot fail to be disappointed.

I also feel that the State from which I come gives to my position no such weight as that I ought to be selected to bear the burden of this project. I do not come here in the name or as the representative of capital, of political power, or of commercial influence. I am the representative of a State that can give to this convention and the south nothing but her good wishes and her most earnest prayers; and these she gives, sir, with all her heart.

Moreover, sir, I am admonished by the presence of those new delegates to this convention, so beautifully addressed to you,

“Whose eyes do brighten like the star that shook
Between the palms of Paradise,”

that, while their smiles are the highest incentive to patriotic endeavor, and the most glorious reward that can be bestowed upon us for our exertions in the cause of our country, the array of beauty intimidates as much as it encourages the speaker.

I abandon the attempt, sir, to rival or compete with you. As the heart of woman is always enlisted in the cause of the country, the highest compliment I can pay them is to endeavor to interest them in the great cause in which this convention is engaged, and I proceed at once to the discussion of the great questions that are before this body for its action.

MR. PRESIDENT, the first commercial convention assembled in the city of Baltimore. It was a small beginning. A few delegates from a few States again met in the city of Memphis, I was not present at either of these. At the late convention of the city of Charleston, I had the honor of being in attendance. Of that convention it is necessary for me to speak. Of it, sir, I can say that never did a more patriotic body assemble there or elsewhere to deliberate upon the prospects of this nation.

But owing to the pressure of sickness and commercial distress, this convention has not received that generous welcome to this city which it expected and had a right to expect; coming here, as it does, to consult for the good of our common country.

Sir, we are told by some of the leading journals of this city that this will be the last meeting of this convention. Then, sir, it behooves us to look about and see whether this be true or not; and if true, what steps are proper to be taken by this convention to prevent this inglorious termination to our labors. MR. PRESIDENT, those who say that the deliberations of the southern conventions have been attended with no result, it seems to me, forget that it takes more than the lifetime of a man for an oak to grow from an acorn. And he who imagines that great results can be suddenly achieved, forgets the plan upon which Providence governs and controls the world. The accomplishment of great results requires a great lapse of time. This convention must expect to plant the seed and leave God in his own good time to cause that seed to grow. Our business is to plant it. Let those reap who may come after us. MR. PRESIDENT, it is an ordinary error that legislation shapes the destiny of the world. Those gentlemen who enact laws for the government of a country vainly imagine that it is their action that is to control the community for which they legislate. Legislation is only the result of public opinion. It is the crystallization of public opinion in a visible shape

Law exists always in the bosom of the public before it manifests itself in the legislation of the country. The great influences that operate upon a country do not begin in the halls of legislation; they begin with the child at the knees of its mother. The seed planted there germinates and expands into the future principles which govern the man. Those influences, that shape the destiny of the government, are growing up in the breast of the child. The slightest word uttered in these early years may have more influence upon the country and the world than all the legislation of a century. All that can be expected from a body of this kind is that it should deliberate carefully as to the measures best calculated to advance the interests of the country, and lay its plans and conclusions before the legislatures of the States, and of the Union, so as best to commend them to their consideration.

Mr. President, too much prominence has been given to me in regard to my connexion with the Charleston convention. I have felt that my name has been too often mentioned in the ears of the country. I could not presume to suggest to this convention the course which it ought to pursue, and the measures which it ought to recommend. But I have drawn up a series of resolutions, in which are embodied my own views of what are the duties of this convention in regard to the subjects engaging its attention, which, with your permission, I will read:

1. That the resolute determination of every non-slaveholding State in the Union, without a single exception, not to comply with its constitutional obligations to the slaveholding States, and the utter want of fraternal spirit exhibited by them in the legislation of twenty years, not only fully warrants a union of the southern States, *within the Constitution*, for the protection of their just rights and the preservation of their independence, equally threatened by dissensions within and assaults from without, but makes such union an inexorable necessity, and one of the very terms of their existence.

2. That such a union can be effected only by means of conventions of delegates from the several southern States, meeting periodically, deliberating upon all matters that concern the public welfare, suggesting to the legislative authorities of their States such measures as the exigencies of the times and their condition demand, and making known to the Congress of the United States the just demands of the States for which they are authorized to speak.

3. That the government of the Union, as to the southern States, is not a superior by divine right or any other right, to be approached only on bended knees, and in the humble accents of petition and entreaty, but it is a government of the States, created by and for the States, and of which each has a right to require and demand such legislation as shall give to all the rights to which it is entitled, and a fair and equal share of the benefits of such government, and of the moneys raised by burdens imposed upon all the States alike, and any State which begs and implores for that which it is its right and duty to demand deserves, as it will receive, insult and contumely only.

4. That the southern States have a right to demand, and do, through their convention, demand, the expenditure within their limits of their fair proportion of the revenues of the United States. They demand, too, as their right, that their ports and harbors shall be fortified, and the approaches thereto made safe by light-houses and charts based upon accurate surveys; that the navigation of their rivers shall be improved; that the public lands within their limits shall aid in building the iron roads by which their value is to be infinitely increased; that they shall share equally in the benefits of the postal system of the United States; that the territory won by the common blood or purchased by the common treasure of the north and the south shall hereafter be the common property of both; and that, so far as the legislation of the general government is concerned, it shall hereafter consider itself as a trustee, holding a fund, both of capital and power, belonging jointly to the north and south, to administer which honestly, fairly, and equally is its highest duty and most sacred obligation.

5. That self-preservation being the first law of human nature, it is the duty of the southern States firmly to unite among themselves, forgetting all partisan differences and the insanities of all former contests by which they have been heretofore divided; that they ought to encourage manufactures, cease to be mere dependent tributaries of the northern States, educate their children at home, develop their own resources by a liberal and generous use of their capital, and speedily open for themselves a direct communication with the Pacific and the principal ports of Europe.

6. That this convention will now proceed to set forth such measures as the southern States have the right to demand, and do demand, of the Congress of the United States, asking for and recommending nothing more; and will also proceed to suggest to the legislatures of the southern States such legislation as in its opinion will tend to create and perpetuate union and harmony among those States, and secure their individual and collective prosperity and independence.

7. That whatever is necessary to be done in order to maintain the rights and independence of the south, and to give her at least her fair share of the commerce of the world, it is in the power of the south herself to do with her own resources, even if the aid which she has a right to demand of the general government should be entirely denied to her; and a decent and manly self-respect requires that she should proceed to do what needs to be done, without further besieging the doors of Congress and the White House with petitions and supplications, a humiliation not atoned for by even the poor merit of success.

8. That this convention, not discouraged by the unpropitious circumstances which have attended its meeting in New Orleans, will adjourn, when it does adjourn, to meet in Richmond, Virginia, on the first Monday of — next, at which meeting it earnestly invites all the southern States and cities to be numerously represented, in order that they may there counsel together in regard to the common welfare and the common honor of the south.

9. That this convention, and the States which it represents, so far from favoring disunion or secession, will never consent to relieve the northern States and people from a single obligation or the performance of the lightest duty imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States, but frankly demanding their rights, they will prepare manfully to maintain them; to that end strenuously endeavoring to make themselves *united, prosperous, and independent*, profoundly impressed with the conviction that with the same institutions they must partake of the same fortune and share in the same common destiny; and in this great work they will not cease to remember that

“Justice is mightier than ships,
Right, than the cannon's brazen lips,
And Truth, averting dark eclipse,
Makes nations prosperous.”

These, Mr. President, embody my own views of the duties devolving upon this convention. Why, sir, there were but fifty-six men who signed the Declaration of Independence, and when this convention has been least numerous attended there have been more of us present than there were in that body. We may exercise a powerful influence on the south and west. We may say that, to some extent, the destiny of this country rests in our own hands. If we give up this southern convention how is it to be renewed again? When this is abandoned who will advocate any organization at all? I hold it to be the duty of this convention to defend itself against open attacks from abroad and insidious sneers at home. There was sent me during last summer two numbers of the *St. Louis Democrat*, containing articles on the disunion convention, and its plan for the southern Pacific railroad. The author, I was credibly informed, is a gentleman once distinguished as a member of the Senate of the United States. I need not say, when I name him, or when I speak of his thirty years' service in the Senate, by what knightly courtesy, by what a rare and admirable amenity these articles are distinguished. I need not say that the writer never descends to personalities, nor indulges in invective or abuse, but ever preserves the tone of a man of good breeding and a gentleman. I need not say that while time has whitened his locks it has softened the tone of his feelings until he no longer entertains animosities, or forms uncharitable opinions on judgments of other men. He denounces this convention as a disunion convention, and its plan for the construction of a southern Pacific railroad as a plan for the dissolution of the Union.

I will not insult this convention by reading it all. It is a direct attack upon the southern convention, as a body organized for disunion and secession. It is unworthy the attention of any one. Its author even descends so far as to apply a nick-name to the author of the memoir upon the subject of the Pacific road, and thus brands himself in the estimation of all decent men as one whom Tacitus characterizes as *homines stercore nati lutoque compositi*. I am ready to say in behalf of the convention at Charleston, and the citizens of the State in which it assembled, that never was there a more patriotic body assembled. I told

them I did not believe I entertained a single political principle that was not directly opposed to their own, and yet they listened to me with patience and indulgence when I professed a warm devotion to the maxim I had long before learned to believe, that men are ever better than they seem to be, and that if we judge others as we judge ourselves we would form a more charitable opinion than we are in the habit of forming. As is customary on such occasions, when the stars and stripes surround the speaker, and the form of the father of his country seems to preside over the deliberations of the meeting, frequent references were made to the Union and the Constitution, and I do not recollect a single such allusion that was not received with the most enthusiastic applause. There was not a single word uttered that tended towards a dissolution of the Union.

Mr. President, I return to the plan approved by your committee.

My convictions are that such a company can be formed and the stock taken. If one half of the stock is taken in the south, the other half will be taken in the city of New York. And my opinion is that when a company is formed, a contract can be made with the United States to carry the mail, munitions of war and troops of the United States for a term of years, and payment made in advance in bonds of the United States. This may be chimerical. It may be chimerical to attempt to carry on any great work in the south; but, if so, it is the fault of the southern States and the southern people. It is time that we should look about us, and see in what relation we stand to the north. From the rattle with which the nurse tickles the ear of the child born in the south to the shroud that covers the cold form of the dead, every thing comes to us from the north. We rise from between sheets made in northern looms, and pillows of northern feathers, to wash in basins made in the north, dry our beards on northern towels, and dress ourselves in garments woven in northern looms; we eat from northern plates and dishes; our rooms are swept with northern brooms, our gardens dug with northern spades, and our bread kneaded in trays or dishes of northern wood or tin; and the very wood which feeds our fires is cut with northern axes, helved with hickory brought from Connecticut and New York.

And so we go on from the beginning to the end. We hardly put any thing on or in ourselves that does not come from the north. It is high time these things were changed. It is high time that our planters should be taught to know that no country can produce alone, and manufacture nothing, and still prosper. Why cannot three or four planters manufacture their own shoes for their servants, their own coarse cotton goods, as well as let our northern neighbors do it? Legislation will not correct this evil. It is occupied for the most part in defining crime and affixing punishments for the violation of the laws, and other matters which concern the body politic alone, and the soul politic not at all. How much, sir, has legislation done to teach the south to be independent, self dependent and self reliant? Little or nothing. But it cannot be expected that a commercial convention can produce any useful result when committees appointed by it pay no attention to subjects committed to them, after adjournment, and make no efforts to procure the necessary information on which to make a report to the next sitting of the convention. I hope that committees will be appointed at this session that will work during the recess, and be prepared to make full reports at the next meeting of the convention. But to return to the accusation of disunion. I never expected, when I went to Charleston, and took my seat in the convention, that I should have to defend myself against the accusation that I went too far as a champion of the rights of the States. The first charges against me there, preferred by a distinguished jurist from Georgia, was that I went too far in vindicating the rights and privileges of the several States of the Union. It was thought that the attempt to fraternize the southern States, and induce them to unite and form an alliance among themselves, for their mutual defence and common welfare, was a violation of the Constitution. I found the supposed secessionists of the south-east to be stricter constructionists of the rights of the States than I, latitudinarian as I was. The Constitution provides that no State shall form any treaty or alliance with any other State. But this applies to no such alliances as this plan proposes. We have a right to form such an alliance to promote the common weal. It is not political in its character, and does not violate the Constitution. It is no doubt a great truth that power is always gliding from the many to the few. But, sir, there is another thing equally true. That, where two sections of country exist, having antagonistic interests, that portion in the minority will gradually become less and

less powerful unless it understands its own rights and is ever vigilant to defend them.

We know, Mr. President, that the prejudices of the world are against our southern institutions, and that all the world is prepared to war against these institutions. By the constitutional obligations of the north they are bound to surrender our slave property. Now, sir, whatever judges and courts of justice may decide, I hold that common sense teaches us all that the mutual obligations existing between these United States bind them to render active assistance in returning our fugitive slaves; and that they violate the Constitution when they refuse to allow their tribunals of justice and their officers to perform that duty. There is another view of this matter. We are bound together in one common brotherhood, and have obligated ourselves to labor for the benefit of all. Put the question to any honest northern man, and he will admit that they do not comply in that spirit. Now, he who violates that brotherly feeling violates the Constitution of the United States. They tell us we have no right to unite for the common welfare. They say, too, that they are under no legal obligation to restore fugitive slaves. I say this is a mere quibble—added to the crime of violation of the Constitution, the greater crime of an attempt to shelter themselves behind its letter. It is our right, and our duty to the Union itself requires us to unite and make ourselves independent of the north, in the Union and within the Constitution. Our manifest duty is to develop our own resources—to apply the labor of the south to as many uses as possible—to open out a Pacific communication that will give us the commerce of the world.

What do you expect from our northern brethren? They are bound to maintain fraternal relations. But they have not complied with the obligations they have assumed. A man's warmest affections cling around his wife and children, then his neighborhood, his State, his section of the country. His patriotism, a weaker feeling, fills a larger circle. The votes of great cities are controlled by their commercial interests, and they cannot be expected to aid in building up rival cities. When the new Territories of Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, Kansas, and Minnesota become States of this Union—when eight or ten members from free States have been added to the Senate, then you will see a railroad built to the Pacific ocean by the votes of these men, who have no constitutional scruples to stand in the way. Then you will see the government of the United States assisting in this great national work, and building the road, with national means, from a point north of St. Louis. Then will the sceptre have passed away from the south forever. "God helps those who help themselves," I have said, and I repeat it again. He helps that people who help themselves. Have we not the courage, manhood and resolution to engage vigorously in this great work? Do we mean to sit down in inglorious ease, apathy and indifference, and see this great national work taken from our hands? This is the question for us to consider.

And, sir, are we to be deterred from doing our duty in regard to this convention by the sneers of the ignorant and inconsiderate? Who ever succeeded in any great scheme for the benefit of the public without having to labor year after year, and sometimes a whole lifetime, and go down to the grave without seeing his plans accomplished? He who is not willing to toil for years, and to go down to his grave unhonored, is not fit to be a laborer in the common weal. If you are willing to struggle against indifference, apathy, and ingratitude; if you are willing to labor for the benefit of men who are to be most benefited, and who never bestow a thought upon you, then you are a fit laborer in the cause of your country. If you are willing to do as the better portion of creation ought to do, to labor for what is right, without the hope of reward, then you are a fit laborer in the cause of your common country. If you are to be deterred from doing your duty by the sneers of a few journals and legislators, then will apathy and indifference settle down upon you like a pall, and you are unfit to aspire to the name of public benefactors. Your country wants soldiers who will stand exposed to the artillery through a long fight and never flinch; soldiers who love the cause because it is just, whether they are successful or not. Let us fight on! We will encounter difficulties; we shall be aspersed by unscrupulous men; but such charges as are made against this convention are not worthy of repetition. The sand used to dry the ink with which the contradiction would be written would be a wasteful expenditure.

Now, sir, what is it that it concerns us to inquire? Is it not whether you have a holy love for the Union and a sacred veneration for that instrument, the Con-

stitution, next in importance and excellence to that book on the pages of which God's finger has written his revelation? If you have that love for the Constitution of the United States, then you are to consider what is the best mode of perpetuating that Union. I hold that the only method is to make the south strong to defend her rights and to resent all insults, by whomever offered. Mr. President, I was born in the north—I was educated in the free schools of the north—I love its institutions. They have made me all that I am and all that I expect to be. But I have cast my fortune in the south. Southern soil covers the remains of four of my children. All my affections are centered here. I love the south as one must love the country in whose bosom he has buried his firstborn. It is, therefore, no affectation when I claim to be wholly southern in my feelings and principles.

I do not present these views that, as singular or extreme, they may attract public attention; I present them because they are the dictates of my sober judgment. Though they seem to be strong in language, they are the result of calm and serious reflection. I see, sir, only two alternatives; we must strengthen ourselves within the Constitution or ultimately resort to a dissolution of the Union, which may Providence avert! Mr. President, no one can remain in happiness in any connexion of human life, if he finds he is compelled to forfeit his own self respect. Even in the most holy connexion of this age, if an irksome sense of inferiority weighs upon either party, that connexion will prove to be the greatest curse that the country ever inflicted upon humanity. You cannot place a collar on any man's neck and write upon it, "This is Gurth, the born thrall of Cedric, the Saxon," and expect the wearer to imagine himself free. If we are to remain in this Union, we must continue to preserve that proud and lofty bearing of perfect independence and equality with which we came into it.

Mr. President, we are all perfectly aware of what we ought to do. The only difficulty is in reducing that belief to practice. Is there any other method more effectual than that of calling conventions to deliberate on the common welfare of these States? I confess I know of no other. It seems to me that if we had done nothing more than to direct public attention towards the plan for constructing a southern Pacific railroad, we have accomplished enough to merit the favor of the south. I believe that the public mind in the south is feelingly alive to the importance of these conventions, and ready to co-operate in any movement practical in its nature, and calculated to advance the public welfare. I confess, sir, I wish to see the time when the capital of other States will come into my own State, and bring to the surface the vast mineral wealth that lies buried in her bosom.

I wish to see the time when our vast coal measures shall become such a source of wealth and national independence to us as those of Great Britain have been to her. But that is the least of the motives which actuate me. I labor for the prosperity of the south and for her independence. It has been said that no word uttered by the slightest man was lost, but has, and will continue to have, effect in coming time. We speak of great scenes being enacted in the war of Europe. They have their effect upon the human race, as the storm, as it sweeps along in its course, has its effect upon the forests that vainly oppose its progress. There were noble and brave deeds done by woman during our war of independence, that have exercised a greater influence on the destinies of the American people than all the legislation of a century. I have spoken elsewhere of Mrs. Motte, who supplied to Marion the arrows tipped with fire, wherewith to burn down her own property occupied by the enemy. Should war ever again call on the youth of South Carolina to rally to the support of the starry flag of our common country, that single act of devotion and heroism would exert more influence than all the legislation since the existence of our country commenced. And a noble thought or high sentiment uttered here may be mightier for a century to come than all the legislation of the Union or the victories of Napoleon. Such words and thoughts are the noblest estate of the people among which they are uttered.

There are single passages in the writings of Daniel Webster that will exercise more influence upon the youth of America than all the statutes of this Union. There are songs written by men whose names are now forgotten that are more to the American people than a regiment of bayonets. "Let him who will make the laws of a nation if I may but make its songs," was well and truly said. The apparently trifling song of Silliballero was the chief cause of the downfall of James II. How much influence do you imagine the songs of our own country are exerting? Do you imagine that we should make a profitable bargain, in case

of a new war, by exchanging the song of Yankee Doodle for fifty thousand foreign soldiers led by a field marshal? This is a kind of property you cannot trade away with profit. You cannot profitably part with your lofty thoughts and noble sentiments any more than we can profitably part with our own souls.

This kind of property we can create in this convention. You can utter noble thoughts, you can erect imperishable monuments that shall live from age to age. It is the proudest object of the human mind to utter a thought that shall live through all coming time. Mr. President, if this convention and its three predecessors shall succeed in uttering one single thought that shall live through all time, it will have amply repaid the labor of its members, and have given them the happy assurance that they have done something for their country and their age. It has been said that a monument is the embodiment of a single lofty sentiment in marble. I would have this convention aid in building such a monument, not in marble, but in iron; an arm of iron extending across the continent and clutching the Pacific in its grasp; and when that monument is built, that embodiment of the great idea of the age, if some one standing near it while the commerce of the world goes rushing by him as on the wings of the wind, and after our bones are mouldered into dust, should say, with truth, that to this convention now assembled in New Orleans that great work was in any degree owing, we should be amply repaid for all our labors in the cause of our country.

Mr. Stith, of Louisiana, moved that Mr. Pike be requested to prepare a copy of his speech for publication. Carried.

After discussion, the whole subject of the Pacific railroad was laid on the table, subject to call, and the resolutions ordered to be printed.

General McLeod, of Texas, gave notice of his intention to speak to-morrow on the subject of the Pacific railroad.

Judge Alexander Walker, of Louisiana, also gave notice of his intention to reply to certain parts of Mr. Pike's speech.

Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, offered a preamble and resolutions, soliciting the aid of Congress in constructing a Pacific railroad. Referred to the railroad committee.

Dr. Cartwright, of Louisiana, presented a preamble and resolutions setting forth the evil caused to the southern States by the closing of bayous Manchac and Terre aux Boeufs during the last war, and petitioning Congress to remedy the evil by making appropriations for a ship canal between the Mississippi river and Lake Borgne, ten miles below New Orleans. Referred to the general committee.

Mr. J. H. McNeill, of Tennessee, presented the following resolution, which was referred to the general committee:

Resolved, That in the estimation of this convention the abandonment of the navy yard at the city of Memphis does not meet the approbation of the southern and western States, and should be re-established.

Mr. J. A. Watkins, of Louisiana, offered the following, which were referred to the same committee:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this convention, Congress should make an appropriation to aid in the construction of a ship-canal or railroad across the peninsula of Florida, at such point as may be selected by a board of engineers appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this convention, the several southern States bordering on the Atlantic ocean and the gulf of Mexico are deeply interested in the furtherance of a work the object of which is the protection of life and property, and the facility of our commercial relations with a large portion of the world with which we hold intercourse; and that, in view of this fact, liberal appropriations should be made by those States in furtherance of the contemplated enterprise.

Mr. De Cordova, of Texas, offered the following, which were also referred to the general committee:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this convention, the present tariff, causing the accumulation of large quantities of the circulating medium of the country in the Treasury of the United States, should be materially modified by Congress at the present session.

Resolved, That the withdrawal from circulation of the large amount of coin in and daily accumulating in the treasury of the general government, tends materially to disorganize the monetary system of the commercial portion of the States, and has a corresponding bad effect on all other classes.

Resolved, That the extension and completion of the railroads now in progress in the south and southwest are rendered imperatively necessary by the wants of trade and commerce, and necessary to enable the farmers of that section of the country to send their produce to market.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this convention, every facility should be given to obtain railroad iron and materials as cheap as possible; therefore they recommend the members of Congress representing the south and southwest to vote for the entire abolition of duty on railroad iron and materials.

The convention then adjourned.

FIRE INSURANCE STATISTICS, LONDON.

A very interesting inquiry, and one of vital importance to the actuaries of fire-insurance companies is the relative liability to fire of different classes of occupations and residences. We already know accurately the number of fires which occur yearly in every trade and kind of occupation. What we do not know, and what we want to know, is the proportion the tenements in which such trades and occupations are carried on bear to the total number of houses in the metropolis. The last census gives us no information of this kind, and we trust the omission will be supplied the next time it is taken. According to Mr. Braidwood's returns in each trade, and in private houses, has been as follows:

Private houses, 4,638; lodgings, 1,304; victualers, 715; sale shops, and offices, 701; carpenters and workers in wood, 621; drapers, of woollen and linen, 372; bakers, 311; stables, 277; cabinet makers, 233; oil and color men, 230; chandlers, 178; grocers, 162; tinmen, braziers, and smiths, 158; houses under repair and building, 150; beer shops, 142; coffee shops and chop houses, 139; brokers, and dealers in old clothes, 134; hat makers, 127; lucifer match makers, 120; wine and spirit merchants, 118; tailors, 113; hotels and club houses, 107; tobacco-conists, 105; eating houses, 104; booksellers and binders, 105; ships, 102; printers and engravers, 102; builders, 91; houses unoccupied, 89; tallow chandlers, 87; marine store dealers, 75; saw mills, 67; firework makers, 66; warehouses, 63; chemists, 62; coachmakers, 50; warehouses (Manchester), 49; public buildings, 46.

If we look at the mere number of fires, irrespective of the size of the industrial group upon which they committed their ravages, houses would appear to be hazardous according to the order in which we have placed them. Now, this is manifestly absurd, inasmuch as private houses stand at the head of the list, and it is well known that they are the safest from fire of all kinds of tenements. Mr. Brown, of the Society of Actuaries, who has taken the trouble to compare the number of fires in each industrial group with the number of houses devoted to it, as far as he could find any data in the post office directory, gives the following average annual per centage of conflagrations, calculated on a period of fifteen years:

Lucifer match makers, 30.00; lodging houses, 16.51; hat makers, 7.74; drapers, 2.67; tinmen, braziers, and smiths, 2.42; carpenters, 2.27; cabinet makers, 2.12; oil and color men, 1.56; beer shops, 1.31; booksellers, 1.18; coffee shops and coffee houses, 1.2; cabinet makers, 1.12; licensed victualers, .86; bakers, .75; wine merchants, .61; grocers, .34.

It will be seen that this estimate in a great measure inverts the order of "dangerous," as we have ranged them in the previous table, making those which from their aggregate number seemed to be the most hazardous trades appear the least so, and *vice versa*.

Mining, Manufactures, and Internal Improvements.**THE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES.****COTTON MANUFACTURES—PART III.**

MANUFACTURES—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED—PITTSBURG MILL—RICHMOND MILL—MANUFACTURE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES—SLAVE LABOR—JAMES RIVER MILL—PATENT "SPEEDER"—MANUFACTURES IN MARYLAND—ORIGIN OF LOWELL—ATLANTIC COTTON MILLS AT LAWRENCE—AMOSKEAG COMPANY AND STARK MILLS, MANCHESTER—SEAMLESS GRAIN-BAGS—SPEED OF MACHINERY—COTTON HOSE FOR FIRE-ENGINES—IMPROVED CARD ENGINE—HADLEY FALLS COMPANY—HOLYOKE—LAWNS FOR PRINTING—PORTSMOUTH STEAM MILLS—GLASGOW MILLS, MASSACHUSETTS—GINGHAMS—COTTON BED-QUILTS—LANCASTER QUILT COMPANY, CLINTON, MASSACHUSETTS—TICKINGS—LENNA MILLS, PENNSYLVANIA—SILESIA—CANADA PLAIDS—DAMASK AND QUILTS—CORDAGE AND TWINE—FISHING-NETS—THE POSITION OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE—CALICO PURCHASED AT BOSTON IN 1813.

The cotton manufactures of the United States appear to hold the first position in the industrial productions of that country, alike as regards extent and value; and, although their operations are chiefly centralized in New England and Pennsylvania, yet there are only seven of the thirty-one States of the federal Union in which the spinning or manufacture of cotton is not carried on. These are Louisiana, Texas, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and California. The census for 1850 returns 1,054 establishments for the manufacture of cotton goods, consuming 641,240 bales of cotton, and manufacturing goods to the value of \$43,207,555. Of these establishments 564 are in the New England States alone; 213 of them being in Massachusetts, 158 in Rhode Island, and 128 in Connecticut; 66 only are to be found in the States of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire; but the 44 mills returned as being in the last named State, manufacture nearly as much in quantity and value as the 286 establishments of the two States of Rhode Island and Connecticut.

The number of persons employed in these cotton manufactures are 33,150 males and 59,136 females.

The New England establishments are conducted upon a similar principle to the largest cotton factories of our own country, and spinning and manufacturing are carried on as one concern. But in many the mills are employed in spinning only, and in Pennsylvania, Georgia and Tennessee, yarns are produced chiefly for the purposes of domestic manufacture by hand, which still obtains in many parts of the older States of the Union. Domestic weaving is gradually giving way, and those manufacturers, especially in Pennsylvania, who formerly did a prosperous business as spinners only, now find that the eastern States supply the piece goods at a rate so little above the cost of the yarn, that it is not worth the while of the farmer

to continue this primitive custom of weaving his own cloth. Thus, the domestic loom is fast following the spinning-wheel of the early settlers; and those manufacturers who, until recently, have spun yarn only, are gradually introducing the power loom, as the only means of sustaining their position in the market. This is strikingly illustrated in the "eagle cotton mill," Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Formerly, the proprietors spun yarn alone, and did a successful trade; but, by a return from the six establishments under their direction, it appears that they have introduced already 540 looms to the 26,000 spindles, and are manufacturing sheetings at the rate of 6,000,000 yards per annum, together with twilled cotton bags, batting and yarns, from 5s. to 18s.; and this, in order to make the latter pay by consuming the surplus yarns themselves.

At two establishments at Richmond, Virginia, the consumption of the yarn, in the manufacture of piece goods, is also the rule. Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina, are the States in which the greatest progress had been made; whilst Virginia, South Carolina and Alabama, come the next. In Tennessee, spinning appears to be the rule, and manufacturing the exception. In Georgia and North Carolina equal attention is paid to both; whilst in Virginia, South Carolina and Alabama, the manufacture of piece-goods is decidedly more extensively carried on than spinning only. Slave labor is said to be largely used, with free whites as overseers and instructors.

In the two establishments above named, free white labor alone is employed. The males are heads of departments, machinists, dressers, &c., and the females are spinners and weavers. The latter are chiefly adults, though children from twelve to fifteen are employed. The average hours of work here are twelve, but vary a little with the season, *very full time* being the rule. At least, such is the statement of the manager. The James River Company's mill, as also the Manchester Cotton Company's mill, are at Manchester, Chesterfield county, Virginia, and situated opposite to Richmond, on the James river, from the falls of which the water power used for driving the machinery is derived. The James river mill produces a large weight of work for the extent of its machinery. The goods manufactured are coarse cottons, and average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards to the pound; shirting, 28 inches wide, (Osnaburgs,) summer pantaloons for slaves, and bagging for export to the Brazils for sugar bags, running about three yards to the pound. Bagging of a lighter character, for grain, and 36-inch Osnaburgs, two yards to the pound, are also produced. The Manchester Company manufacture sheetings, shirtings, and yarns, and employ about 325 operatives, the

children being of the same average age as at the James river mill. The manager, Mr. Whitehead, is an Englishman, as is also the chief mechanic. The former has just perfected a patent "speeder," of which the latter expresses a very high opinion. Its advantages are a greater speed, a more even roving, and a bobbin of any desirable size, which never becomes spongy in the winding.

In Maryland, however, there were twenty-four establishments in 1850, chiefly engaged in manufacturing piece-goods, such as drillings, sheetings, ducks, Osnaburgs, and bagging. The yarns produced for domestic purposes bear but a small proportion to those manufactured into cloth, and these are chiefly sold within the State for the home weaving of mixed fabrics of wool and cotton, forming coarse linseys. The wool is mostly spun by hand in the farm houses; and the fabrics, when made, are entirely for domestic use. In Maryland, too, bleaching is carried on to a considerable extent.

The manufacturing towns of Lowell, Manchester, and Lawrence, strikingly demonstrate the results of the energy and enterprise of the manufacturers of New England. At Lowell, Massachusetts, the cotton manufacture has been developed in a form which has been a theme for many writers on the economy and social bearings of the factory system; and the plans so successfully put into operation at Lowell, and carried on since 1822, have led to the erection of large establishments, with their attendant boarding-houses, at Manchester, New Hampshire, and more recently at Lawrence, Massachusetts; whilst a commencement has been made at Holyoke, in the same State, by the Hadley Falls Company, which promises a result of a more extraordinary character than anything yet achieved in the United States. Each of these localities presents peculiar features; and, besides the manufacture of cotton goods, other branches of production in textile fabrics are carried on.

The falls of the Pawtucket, on the Merrimack river, and the Pawtucket canal, which had previously been used only for the purposes of navigation, and connecting the river above and below the falls by means of locks, presented to the original projectors of Lowell a site for the solution of an important problem, not only in American industry, but, to a great extent, in that of Europe itself. This was the combination of great natural advantages with a large and well-directed capital, resulting in extensive and systematic operations for the realization of a legitimate profit; whilst the social position of the operative classes was sedulously cared for, and their moral and intellectual elevation promoted and secured. The example has not been lost, even in Europe; and the possibilities of the

manufacturing system of a country being carried on without injuring the best interests of the laboring classes having been so unmistakably proved, many improvements in the larger manufactories of England, not only of those engaged in manufacture of cotton, but in other branches of industry, have resulted from the enlightened and profitable system commenced barely thirty years ago by the founders of Lowell, which is now a city containing nearly 35,000 inhabitants.

In that place there are eight manufacturing corporations, exclusively employed in the manufacture of cotton goods, two of which print and dye their own fabrics, and one company (Lowell Manufacturing Company) which manufactures cotton Osnaburgs in addition to its staple production of carpets. There are thirty-five mills, besides the print-works, belonging to these companies. These produce 2,139,000 yards of piece-goods per week, consisting chiefly of sheetings, shirtings, drillings, and printing cloths. The consumption of cotton is 745,000 lbs. per week, spun and manufactured upon 320,732 spindles and 9,954 looms. The number of operatives employed in the cotton manufacture by the eight corporations, exclusively engaged therein, is 6,920 females and 2,338 males. This, however, does not include those employed by the Lowell Manufacturing Company in their cotton mills. The average wages of females, clear of board, is \$2 per week; whilst the wages of males show an average of \$4 80 cents per week. The average hours of labor per day, *exclusive of meals*, is twelve, the mills commencing at 5 a. m. and closing at 7 p. m.

The goods produced are generally excellent of their class, and quite equal (sometimes superior) to similar manufactured in Britain. Those of Lowell may be taken as fair examples of other cotton mills in the United States, possessing the same advantages as regards power, improved machinery, and intelligent operatives.

In selecting the cotton manufactories of Lowell as an illustration of other manufacturing localities engaged in the same branch of industry, it must be borne in mind that the latter have certain features peculiarly their own; but the statistics of Lowell fairly represent the rate of production, &c., in the class of goods included therein, in the best and most extended form as to economy, organization, &c., in a group of establishments; and no useful purpose can be served in quoting the relative rate of production of single manufacturing companies in groups of two or three.

As the manufacturing establishments of Lawrence are intended, by their enlightened proprietors, to comprise all

the advantages derived from the experience gained at Lowell, it may be useful to quote the following description of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, from the sanatory report to the legislature of the State of Massachusetts in 1850:

"The Atlantic Cotton Mills have erected a building 600 feet in length, five and six stories in height, partly 64 and partly 106 feet in width, which is devoted to the manufacture of brown cotton goods. It is designed to contain 42,500 spindles and 1,168 looms; 25,088 spindles and 728 looms are now in operation; and 164 male and 619 female operatives are employed. This number will be increased to about 1,200 when in full operation. The motive power is supplied by three of Boyden's improved iron turbine wheels, each 8 feet in diameter, and of 300 horse power; 12 mill-powers are devoted to these mills. The boarding-houses belonging to these mills consist of six blocks, containing 68 tenements, and are built upon a similar plan, and have the same admirable arrangements for water, cleansing, sewerage, and other purposes, as those belonging to the Bay State mills."

There are two manufacturing companies at Manchester,—the Amoskeag Company, and the Stark Mills. The former consist of four mills, the latter of two; and it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more complete than these manufacturing establishments, with the requisite boarding-houses conveniently situated for the purposes of the operatives.* The goods produced at these mills are of excellent quality, and

*As an illustration of the relations existing between the operatives and the corporations who employ them, it may not be uninteresting to state that on a late occasion the operatives having reason to fear that, in the erection of another mill, a favorite elm, one of the last of the old forest trees on the banks of the Merrimack would have to be cut down, hastily got up a petition, which was signed by upwards of 500 of the mill hands, male and female, and presented it to the proprietors, requesting that, if possible, the tree should not be cut down, and giving many reasons alike creditable to the good sense and feelings of the petitioners; amongst which were, "that it was a beautiful and goodly tree," and belonged to a time when "the yell of the red man and the scream of the eagle were alone heard on the banks of the Merrimack, instead of the two gigantic edifices filled with the buzz of busy and well-remunerated industry,"—"a connecting link between the present and the past, and perhaps may serve as an ever-living, yet silent monitor, each autumn, as the aged and yellow leaf falls from among its fellows, to remind us of our own mortality." "It is, it may be therefore assumed, a useful tree, to say nothing of its absorbing noxious gases, and giving out healthy ones." The petitioners repudiated any intention to interfere with the arrangements of the shareholders in the disposal of their property, acknowledging how largely they were indebted to them for "the green enclosures and hundreds of trees which line the streets, all promptly cared for and protected at no inconsiderable expense; and though they could not but indulge a hope that the company would 'spare that tree,' yet," say the petitioners, "we shall not murmur if, upon the whole, by stern necessity, you should remove the object of our solicitude." The company, however, decided to comply with the wishes of the operatives so properly expressed, though at no little inconvenience and cost.

consist of ducks, tickings, denims, drillings, sheetings, and cotton flannels of varied width and quality.

The seamless grain-bags of the Stark Mills Company constitute a novel and important article of trade, and are of excellent quality and make. These bags are 45 inches long, and are manufactured of various qualities and weight. The warp is a double one; and, by the construction of the loom, the "filling," or weft, traverses both sides, uniting the warps at the edge, instead of producing a selvage. The loom is a perfect self-actor or automaton, so to speak; it commences the bag, goes on until the requisite number of picks has been thrown in to make up the length; it then closes the bottom, throws in a given number of picks as a *tab*, and then commences another bag. All that the weaver has to do is to attend, in the usual way, to the perfect working of the machine, and cut out each bag, as from their thickness any quantity accumulated on a cloth beam would be an encumbrance to the machine. As the bags are cut out, each weaver folds and piles them by the side of each loom, and these are removed, and an account taken every half-day. The bags are hemmed round the top, or mouth, by sewing-machines, each machine being attended by one female operative, and the average work of each is 650 bags per machine per day.

There are 126 of these seamless bag-looms at work in the Stark Mills. The average make is 47 bags per loom per day, and the speed about 130 picks per minute. This is rather high, as the general speed of power-looms, and indeed of machinery generally, is lower than in Great Britain. By this means human labor is economized, and one operative can attend to more machines. A weaver will attend to four looms in the United States, who, in the same quality of work, would attend to only two in the English factories. The conviction is gradually forcing itself upon the mind of the British manufacturer, that machinery may be run at a speed which is not economical, either as regards the quality of goods produced, or the most profitable use of human labor.

The seamless bag loom is the invention of Mr. Cyrus W. Baldwin, of the Stark Mills, and the looms are all manufactured in the machine shops of that establishment.

Pillow cases and bed bolsters could be as easily and as profitably produced by this loom as grain bags, but the latter are in great demand at present. Mr. Baldwin has just patented an adaptation of his invention to the weaving of cotton hose for fire-engines. The experimental loom will produce 1,000 feet of hose per day, and from the perfect character of

the work, there is no material escape of the fluid when the hose is filled with water, as the fabric swells, and it is as perfect as a duct as the ordinary leathern hose, and much more elastic and portable. Its cost is but $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents per foot; and no oiling is required to preserve its elasticity. This alone gives it a greater advantage over the leathern hose, since both labor and material are saved; the cost of the latter being $62\frac{1}{4}$ cents per foot, and requires renewing every three years. A double hose, which would wear longer than the leather, and still save the oiling, can be made by inserting a smaller cotton hose within a larger one; a coating of caoutchouc rendering the whole perfectly water-tight, and less susceptible of external injury than a single hose would be. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect fabric than the hose produced by the experimental loom of this inventor, who states that it is also applicable, and that he is about to adapt it, to fancy weaving. The invention is patented for England, as well as in the United States.

An improvement in the carding-engine is in operation in the same establishment. It consists of a series of circular saws with very fine teeth, set round a cylinder. It throws out an immense quantity of dirt which escapes the ordinary carding machines. Should flax cotton ever come into general use, this would be the most fitting machine for carding it clean, and getting rid of the woody fibre, by a mechanical instead of a chemical process.

The Hadley Falls Company have constructed a dam across the Connecticut river, 30 feet high at the headwater, and 1,017 feet long; whilst taking advantage of the peculiar conformation of the land on the banks, the application of the power derived therefrom is so arranged that a row of mills two miles in length might be erected, and power to drive at least 1,000,000 spindles, easily applied thereto. A town is laid out on a plan calculated to secure many advantages to its future inhabitants, and boarding houses, &c., erected for the operatives employed in the two mills and machine shops already at work. Another mill, intended for the manufacture of fancy fabrics, is now in the course of erection. Of the two above named, one contains 18,432 spindles for No. 14 yarn, which is manufactured into sheetings at the rate of about five tons weight per day. The other mill contains 30,700 spindles for No. 90 yarn, this being the finest number spun in the United States. It is manufactured into lawns or jaconets, chiefly for printing. There are 450 looms in this lawn mill. The goods thrown off are of a superior quality, and show that the manufacture of the finer

fabrics in cotton is as likely to be successfully carried on in the future, as the coarser and more useful qualities have been in the past. There is only one other mill for the manufacture of lawns in the States. This is at the Portsmouth Steam Mills, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Here there are 26,000 spindles driven by steam power, the yarn being No. 90s, as at Holyoke. Another mill for this class of goods, the Pacific Mills, Lawrence, Massachusetts, is in the course of erection and will be in operation shortly.

The Glasgow Mills, South Hadley, derive the water power which drives their machinery from the head-water of the dam constructed by the Hadley Falls Company for the works at Holyoke; indeed, the privilege is rented from that corporation. They are entirely devoted to the manufacture of gingham. The yarns, 28s and 30s, are spun on 10,000 spindles, and manufactured into cloth by 300 power-looms, carrying four shuttles each, for different colored yarns, and acting by means of a revolving shuttle-box. Each loom produces from 28 to 30 yards per day, and the total produce of the establishment is 14,000 pieces, of 30 yards each, per week, giving a total of 52,000 yards. The yarns are all dyed on the premises, and are generally clear and brilliant in color, and the goods have a reputation for fast dyes.

The manufacture of cotton bedquilts by a method included in Bigelow's patent for the manufacture of Brussels carpet by the power-loom, is also carried on at Clinton, by the Lancaster Quilt Company. The mill is small, and was erected for other purposes. These bedquilts are good, cheap and useful articles, in great demand. There is considerable scope for design, untrammelled by the conditions of Marseilles or quilted fabrics, from the facility with which the figured surface can be produced. The fabric, however, does not present the substance of the ordinary quiltings, but in other respects is admirably adapted for summer use or for hot climates.

Tickings are extensively manufactured, and often form a department in the large cotton establishments in the New England States. The manufacture of them, with checks, stripes, &c., also forms a considerable item in the home industry of Pennsylvania, and, to a certain extent, in the factory system of that State. Some goods of this class, manufactured by D. Lamot and Son, Lenna Mills, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, are most excellent of their kind. They are 36 inches wide, 1,100 reed, No. 30 warp, and No. 35 filling or weft, with 140 picks to the inch. It is scarcely possible to conceive a firmer or better made article; and the traditionary notion

that really good tickings can only be manufactured from flax, receives a severe shock when such cotton goods as these are presented for examination. The Lenna Mill runs 4,000 spindles, and works 160 looms, of which latter twenty-nine are for the manufacture of the finer qualities of ticking quoted above. It is comparatively a small establishment, situated in one of those beautiful valleys, on a stream supplying water power, with which the State of Pennsylvania abounds, and which, in presenting great natural facilities, have originated the comparatively large number of small manufacturing establishments, especially of cotton and woolen yarns and goods, to be found in that State.

The Silesias manufactured by the Franklin Manufacturing Company, Providence, Rhode Island, as also the same kind of goods, together with nankeens and drills of a fine quality, manufactured by Goddard Brothers, of the same place, are excellent fabrics, well dyed and finished.

The Canada plaids, adapted for vestings, manufactured at Whittenton Mills, Taunton, Massachusetts, are excellent in make and dye, and in good taste in the selection of the coloring. In cotton damasks and quilts, dyed and plain, the goods of Malcolm and Heskett, Paterson, New Jersey, are the only examples of American production of their kind. They are of fair make, and the usual character in design.

The cheapness of cotton in the United States, as a raw material, causes it to be used for many of the purposes for which flax and hemp are alone employed in Europe. The American Cordage Company, New York city, exhibit specimens of patent cordage, rope rigging, tow lines, &c., of various sizes, remarkably clear in the strand, and evidently made with great care. Cotton seine twine, and cotton lines for drift and other nets, also show how largely cotton is employed in this branch of trade.

Fishing nets of cotton twine are woven by Mr. John McMullen, of Baltimore, on a loom of his own invention. These are quite equal in every respect, probably superior, to hand-made nets.

The estimate formed of the present position of the cotton manufacture of the United States must be one of no merely apologetic character. All that has been attempted has been well done, not only in the results, but as regards the methods by which these results are attained; and if many of those developments of the cotton trade in its finer and more ornamental fabrics are as yet unattempted, it must be remembered that the useful fabrics, those absolutely necessary to the com-

fort of the great mass of the people, were those which would be first in demand, and most likely to remunerate the enterprise of the earlier manufacturers.

In the New York Exhibition a specimen of British calico is exhibited, which was purchased by the contributor, Mr. Hagerston, at Boston, in 1813. Its width is $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches, its price at that date 85 cents, about 4s. sterling, per yard. The same quality of cloth can now be purchased for $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, about 2d. sterling, per yard. This illustration proves how largely manufacturing skill must have progressed since that period; diffusing health and comfort, independence and happiness, by affording occupation to hundreds of thousands in both continents; whilst its influence has been felt in the social relations of life in a remarkable degree in the United States, as evidenced by the condition of the people in Lowell, Manchester, Lawrence, and other places of less concentration, but not of less skill, enterprise, and industry, or of lower tone as regards morals or social position.

MANUFACTURE OF SALT IN THE UNITED STATES.

It is a curious fact, that while there is no country on the globe richer in salt springs and in mineral salt than the United States, nevertheless we import annually some 12,000,000 of bushels of foreign salt, at an expense of more than \$3,000,000. The State of New York is especially rich in salt springs, having twelve, fifteen, or eighteen per cent. of salt; and still this State imports annually two or three millions of bushels of foreign salt for the interior consumption, when France and Italy, having only three or four per cent. of salt in their sea-water, are manufacturing with a brine so weak a quantity of salt sufficient not only for themselves, but for a large exportation.

Why, then, are the United States, and especially the leading State of New York, so backward in the manufacture of a product of prime and vital necessity? The answer to this question is probably the same as that to a similar question regarding the backwardness of this country in the manufacture of iron, and many other things, the raw material of which is here so inexhaustibly abundant.

M. Thomassy, a distinguished French *savant*, who has devoted much attention to the salt statistics of various countries to which he has been charged by the French government, for the purpose of investigating the salt manufacture and statistics of those countries, decides, as the result of his observations in this country, that our deficient manufacture of salt is due chiefly to defects in our mode of manufacture.

"Every where in the south of France," says M. Thomassy, "the salt made by solar and natural evaporation is a great deal cheaper than when made in boilers by artificial heat, and this solar salt costs for the 100 kilogrammes of 232 pounds (four bushels) eight or nine cents. The actual cost of salt to the manufacturer in the south of France in the last twenty years is consequently per each bushel about two cents. This fact is of public notoriety; and by some new improvements in salt works, which I myself introduced in Italy in 1848, the bushel was produced for only one and a half cents from the brine of the Adriatic sea, which has about two and a half per cent. of salt.

"In Syracuse, the greatest market of American salt, the cost to the manufacturer per bushel is three times as much: it is six or seven cents, in spite of the richness of the brine, which has eighteen per cent. of salt. Why, then, so incredible a difference? Because, according to the report of Professor Cook, of 1854, (page 14,) in the present method of manufacture by solar evaporation in Syra-

cuse about three-fourths of the evaporating power is lost, whereas in France the whole power is controlled and so used as to proportionally reduce the cost of the manufacture, diminishing it from six or seven cents to about two cents."

These facts are worthy of attention. What the improved method is, to which M. Thomassy refers, he does not inform us, but he assures us that "it has had a triumphant success, even with sea-water, on the French coast of the Mediterranean and the Italian coast on the Adriatic, the first sea-water having three or four per cent. of salt, and the second only two and a half. The brine of Syracuse having eighteen per cent. will give, consequently, a great deal more facilities for the application of the French method and of my improvements made in Italy; and it assures four or five times as much salt, and proportionally cheaper than in France. But, as in Syracuse the labor costs twice as much as in France, labor costing a dollar a working day instead of forty or fifty cents, this increased cost will diminish a little the economy of the French method; so that this method will be, not five or four times more profitable, but only three or two times, and will produce in Syracuse the bushel of salt for about one cent, instead of six or seven cents, as now.

"With a diminution of five cents per bushel, the total saving on the 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 bushels manufactured in Syracuse will be 250,000 or 300,000 dollars a year. And as the improved qualities of the new salt will secure its use in the curing of the domestic provisions, the production of Syracuse will be, in time, largely increased, and the profits of the manufacturer in proportion.

"With the same improvement in all the American salt works, all foreign salt will, in a short time, be withdrawn from the American market, and two or three millions of dollars, now expended for foreign salt, will remain in the United States, to the great advantage of the manufacturers and the public at large."

If these statements be correct, American salt manufacturers ought to inquire into and introduce the new method. M. Thomassy is about publishing a new work on salt in this country, entitled "*La Question du Sel aux Etats Unis*," which, judging from an outline of its contents which he has sent us, will be extremely interesting and valuable.

DUTY ON RAILROAD IRON.

The policy of admitting railroad iron free of duty, in the infancy of such enterprises, will not be disputed. It is only contended that this policy was abandoned before the reasons which suggested it ceased to exist: that the railroad system has not yet been sufficiently extended to secure the great objects which entitled it to your most favorable consideration.

A large majority of the people of the United States have decided against the existence of any power in the federal government to construct works of internal improvement. And yet the importance of the railway system to this vast confederacy, as a means of defence in time of war, seemed to present it to the national government almost as one of national necessity, and gave it strong and peculiar claims on the fostering care of that government. In a strictly economical point of view, the system is of incalculable value to the nation. The use of railroads has completely changed the whole science of fortification. The power of concentrating an army rapidly, at any point where the country may be attacked, will save to the United States hundreds of millions in fortifying our coast. An army can now be moved in one day a distance which would have required thirty days at the period of our last war

with Great Britain. Besides the importance of railways as an arm of military defence in a conflict with a foreign foe, no statesman can close his eyes to the fact that they are absolutely essential to the continued union of this large family of States. Nothing else could have bound together a people so widely separated by space, and still more widely divided by conflicting interests.

In the absence of all power on the part of the general government to engage directly in the construction of works so vitally important to the common defence and the very existence of the government, it became important to ascertain by what constitutional means the same end could be effected. A ready solution of this problem presented itself in the simple proposition that *the government should let the railroads alone*. It was believed, and *with reason believed*, that if the government would abstain from throwing any artificial obstruction in the way of these railroads, the people and the States would make them. It has been always deemed both constitutional and expedient to exercise the power of laying duties on imports, so as to protect the manufacture, in the United States, of articles essential to the national defence. Surely, it is not less so, to abstain from exercising that power to attain the same end. No subject could possess higher claims on the favorable action of Congress, or more imperatively demand the exercise of every constitutional power in its behalf, than the advancement of the railroads of the United States.

The relief of railroad companies by the refunding of duties already paid, and the reduction of duties hereafter to be paid, for a limited number of years, is a measure which would benefit all classes of society, and every section of the Union.

No one is so largely and immediately benefitted by every improvement that cheapens transportation as the agriculturist. The tools which he uses, and the fabrics of other States or countries, which he must consume, are brought to him cheaper—and all which he produces is sold higher. Take the Virginia and Tennessee railroad as an example. Before its construction, eighty miles was the most distant point, along its line, from which wheat was brought—and from that point the cost of transportation nearly consumed the profits. One hundred miles from Lynchburg, on that road, wheat was produced in large quantities and fed to the horses and hogs—and it has been known to remain three years in the stack and rot for want of demand. Farmers at that point have received during the last summer \$1 50 per bushel at their own doors, for which they are indebted to the Virginia and Tennessee railroad.

What may be said of one may be said of all, and without the benefit of railroad transportation what would now be the condition of the teeming population of our Atlantic cities and of Europe? Railroads have secured to the farmer a good profit for his labor, and placed bread in the mouths of millions, who would otherwise have been unable to pay the prices created by a constantly increasing demand, without a corresponding supply.

It needs no argument to prove that the merchant is benefited by the vast commerce created by railroads—the mere freight charges on which have amounted to about \$10,000,000 per annum on two roads of this country—the Baltimore and Ohio and the New York and Erie roads.

It is contended, likewise, that the iron master is benefited by the proposed measure.

Railroad iron is generally of a cheaper quality, and its manufacture is less profitable than that of other kinds of iron. Our best roads use about 100 tons of rails per mile of road, and the average is probably below 80 tons. If we assume the highest amount, or 100 tons, and place it at an average of \$50 per ton, we have \$5,000 per mile. Now take the ordinary cost of spikes, chairs and iron used in bridges, calculate the value of the metal required for the actual number of cars and locomotives now in operation on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and it will be found that the iron used on a railroad, other than the iron rails, is worth \$5,300 per mile of road. Therefore, for every \$5,000 expended in railroad iron, there is more than an equal demand for manufactures of iron of a more profitable character. No account has been taken of the machinery and tools used in the shops, and on the repairs of the road-bed, track, and bridges. Nor has any account been taken of the materials consumed in keeping up the road and equipment.

Therefore, the admission of railroad iron free, by encouraging the construction of roads, is an actual protection to the producers of all other characters of iron. This is the true reason why our rolling mills have made so little railroad iron. They have been more profitably employed, and the amount of rails rolled in the United States bears a very small proportion to the amount imported.

The value of the iron castings produced in the United States in 1850, was \$25,108,155, and the wrought iron produced was worth \$22,629,271. And yet this must have been far short of the demand for iron fabrics other than rails, or the mills of the United States would have rolled more rail-

road iron. The price of rails abroad, together with the duty at home, had certainly been sufficient to encourage home manufacture, but for the cause above stated.

The value of the rails imported during the last four years, exclusive of duty, was \$4,901,452 in the year ending June 30, 1851; \$6,228,794, in the year ending June 30, 1852; \$10,446,037, in the year ending June 30, 1853; and \$12,020,309, in the year ending June 30, 1854.

We paid to foreign countries for iron the following sums: \$14,910,361 in 1849, \$17,524,459 in 1850, \$18,738,102 in 1851, and \$20,495,086 in 1852.

From this it will be seen that we pay foreign countries more than \$20,000,000 per annum for iron, and more than \$8,000,000 per annum for iron other than rails. It is, therefore, clear that the production of iron in the United States is far short of the home consumption. Why is this? It is because the iron and coal fields of the United States are not yet sufficiently developed by railroads to enable us to supply the home demand even, for the more profitable manufacture of iron.

That the labor of the country is benefitted by whatever promotes the construction of railroads will certainly be admitted. But it is wonderful to consider the vast amount of mechanic skill which is employed in the operation of a finished road, throwing entirely out of the question the numerous and magnificent workshops of the country, in which the cars, locomotives, and other machinery for our roads are manufactured.

The following statement was made in 1851: "The Reading railroad employs, in all, about 1,500 persons, at salaries and wages respectively of about \$60,000 per month, or \$720,000 per annum. It consumes materials in value of \$20,000 per month, causing in all (consumption of materials, salaries, and wages) an annual outlay of \$960,000, all expended on its own ground. It manufactures thirty wheels a day to perpetuate its machinery and cars, and requires annually from seven to eight hundred tons of new rails for repairs only."

Let us see now what will be the future demand for iron to perpetuate the track and to keep up the supply of wheels on our railroads.

There are now 19,438 miles of railroad in operation in the United States, according to a careful estimate published in the Railroad Journal, of January 6th. The compendium of the United States census gives 12,526 as the number of

miles in construction. Suppose we assume 20,000 miles as the present number, and 30,000 miles as the number which we will have in 1860. Take the average demand for new wheels per mile of road as *one half* of what it is on the Reading road, and it will show the present demand to be 225,000 tons per annum, and the demand in 1860 to be 337,500 tons for *repairs alone*. Assume 100 tons per mile as the weight of the rail, and 5 per cent. per annum as the loss, and we find 100,000 tons per annum necessary for repairs at this time, and 150,000 in 1860. It will probably require twice as much for new roads and double tracks on old roads—making a demand for many years of 450,000 tons of rails and probably 600,000 tons of wheels, or more than one million of tons of metal.

There are now produced in the United States, only 1,000,000 tons of iron, in Great Britain, only 3,000,000, and in the world only 5,817,000.

The demand for other descriptions of iron is increasing rapidly, and the uses to which it is applied are daily multiplying. The production of iron in Great Britain has been more than doubled since 1840, and that of the United States has been tripled.

Is it not, then, the interest of the American iron master to encourage still further the construction of railroads? The fair deduction from the foregoing facts is that it is indispensably necessary to penetrate the coal and iron fields of the United States by railroads, before we can approximate the supply of iron necessary for home consumption. And that we should continue a little longer to direct our industry to the supply of the more profitable descriptions of iron, taking the rails, which are less profitable, from Great Britain.

We have endeavored to establish the fact that each mile of railroad, constructed in the present condition of the iron business, will be attended with immediate benefit to the American iron master, even though the rails themselves are purchased from abroad. We have shown that the ultimate effect of importing iron free, and thus completing rapidly and economically those roads which are now under construction, will be to increase the annual demand for iron in this country, at the end of five years, to at least 2,000,000 of tons, or double the amount now produced in the United States.

The iron interest is not only of the highest national importance in itself, but it is one which seriously affects every other interest, and it is therefore eminently entitled to the fostering care of government. Congress is imperatively called on, by every motive that could influence the rulers of an enlightened

nation, to protect and encourage this interest. This can only be done through the railroads, by extending them far enough to bring into market the immense deposits of iron now locked up in our back country. This means alone will enable the iron producer to meet the great and growing demand for iron in the United States.

The change of policy on the part of the federal government has operated unequally, and therefore unjustly. While some States made their railroads when iron was admitted duty free, or when the price of iron was so low as to compensate, in some measure, for the oppressive duty, other States were so unfortunate as to construct their most important works when the duty, added to the high price of iron, rendered it an intolerable burden.

If it be just and equitable to encourage railroads by continuing this exemption from duty for a longer period, it is equally so to refund to the duties paid by those companies which have borne the pressure of the high duty and the high price combined.

Nearly all the railroad companies whose works are incomplete have been seriously embarrassed by the commercial distress which has prevailed everywhere for the last year, and some of them will be unable to prosecute their work. This measure of relief, so strongly sustained by every consideration of justice and policy, would be attended with the happiest results in effecting the speedy completion of the numerous half finished roads.

Statement exhibiting the quantity and value of railroad iron imported into the United States from June 30, 1850, to June 30, 1854, inclusive; also, the quantity in bond on the 30th of June, 1854:

Years.	Quantity.		Value.	Duty.	Cost per ton.
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Cts.</i>			
Ending June 30, 1851..	188,625	16	\$4,901,452 00	\$1,470,435 60	\$25 98
1852..	245,625	10	6,228,794 00	1,863,638 20	25 36
1853..	298,995	04	10,426,037 00	3,127,811 10	34 87
1854..	282,866	19	12,020,309 00	3,606,092 70	42 49
Total	1,016,113	113	33,576,592 00	10,072,977 69	
In bond June 30, 1854.	47,732	13	1,986,184 00		41 61

F. BIGGER, Register.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Register's Office, January 10, 1855.

Journal of Education.

COMMON SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES, NORTH AND SOUTH.

I propose, Mr. Editor, to offer a few remarks upon and to discuss cursorily the subject indicated by the heading. It is one upon which a great deal of misconception prevails, and my object will be fully answered if I succeed in directing attention to this matter, and in removing a few of the more glaring and palpable errors which exist in the public mind.

The northern press, northern lecturers, and, I may say, the larger number of northern men assume, sometimes with no little arrogance, that their own section has the monopoly of, if not all, at least by far the greatest portion of the intelligence of the country. They are pleased at times, however, not to claim absolute superiority so much in themselves as to attribute southern deficiencies to what they call the demoralizing and degrading effects of slavery. This branch of the subject I do not mean to touch upon at present, further than to say that I believe it demonstrable that the institution of slavery, instead of demoralizing, elevates and refines the community among which it exists, and that its influence upon the state of society it creates is not unfavorable to the highest intellectual development.

I do not wish to ferment any unkind sectional feelings, which unfortunately too much prevail, but shall proceed in no unfriendly spirit to attempt to correct some of the errors which have possession of the public mind upon the subject of the relative culture of the two sections, and, if I succeed in the attempt, to diminish thereby in some degree the northern self-complacency.

It is undeniable that the common school system of New England and of New York is at least equal, if not superior, to any existing in any country whatsoever. I will not undertake to say that it is more efficient for its purposes than the Prussian system, but it is certainly a "peculiar institution" of which that section of country has a right to boast. I would not, if it were possible, diminish one jot or one tittle the proper feeling of pride which northern men entertain for an institution so noble in its objects and beneficial in its character and influence upon society. But while acknowledging all the merit which is justly due to common schools, it by no means follows that by them only can a community be rendered intelligent. There are other means of educating the public mind quite as effective, such as social intercourse, lectures, and public discussions of

great political and other questions. Every man must have met with persons in innumerable instances who, though unable even to read and write, yet gave evidence of the highest intelligence, and possessed powers of reasoning putting to shame minds disciplined by all the learning of universities, much less of common schools. Those persons would probably have been much more intelligent had they possessed the advantages of even an ordinary education. But I merely mean to say that individuals may be intelligent without *education*, in the usual acceptance of the term; and what is true of individuals may also be true of communities. But because such is my belief, I am not of opinion that common schools ought not to be encouraged, or are not highly useful or necessary, if you please, properly to educate a people.

While I would not justify the neglect and indifference which is too generally prevalent in the southern States upon this subject, yet I think there are substantial reasons why this system of education has not been and cannot be, under existing circumstances, wholly adopted. One of the plainest reasons is the greater relative extent of territory in the southern States, and, at the same time, greater sparseness of population. Take the two States of Virginia and Massachusetts as a basis of comparison between the two sections. Their free population is very nearly the same; that of Virginia being 948,000, and that of Massachusetts 994,000, in round numbers; the area of Virginia is 61,325 square miles, that of Massachusetts 7,250, or of more than 8 to 1 of the former to the latter. The number of inhabitants to the square mile in Virginia is 23; in Massachusetts 126, or nearly in the proportion of 1 to 6. This simple statement will show that it would require more than 45 times the amount of money to support the same number of schools with an equal number of pupils; and of course, then, it would be unfair to the last degree to expect the same extent of common school education, and the same diffusion of that kind of information thence derived, namely: reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic; and this boasted system does not teach much more than these *very* elementary branches. The comparison I have made would measurably hold good between the other northern and southern States; but I have selected Massachusetts and Virginia because the one is the most *belauded* for its intelligence, prosperity, and general superiority, and the other, by the same authority, *belittled* for its ignorance, laziness, and want of enterprise. I shall continue the comparison in the remarks which are to follow, because the two States are really, from their position

and influence in the Union, and from other circumstances, probably the best representatives of the manners, character, and intellectual culture of the two sections of the confederacy.

While, then, we have great cause to regret, from the necessity of our situation, the absence of an efficient system of common schools, we have, on the other hand, good reason to be proud and *glorify* ourselves, if we were so given, as our northern brethren are, for the more extensive prevalence of university education. I am aware that this mere assertion with a northern reader will probably provoke a smile of derision, and I think it very probable that the great majority of southern men may equally suppose it devoid of foundation. It is not so, however, but is strictly true so far as all accessible statistics furnish the means of forming an opinion, as I shall now proceed to show. The authority from which I derive my statistics is the American Almanac for 1855, an exceedingly valuable and reliable work *published and edited in Boston*. It is particularly full on matters relating to the New England and the northern States generally, but is sometimes deficient with regard to the southern States, of course, not intentionally, but because of the greater difficulty of procuring information; consequently the returns from the southern institutions are sometimes left blank, and even generally are not brought up to so late a period as the northern; but here again the editor of the Almanac is not responsible, the blame rests with the institutions themselves for not getting out their catalogues earlier. For instance, the University of Virginia has not yet published its catalogue for 1854-'55, although all the leading northern colleges have long since published theirs, and the results appear in the American Almanac. I use, however, in this article, with regard to the University, the latest returns, having been recently given in the newspapers of the vicinity. Without further preliminary, I give below a tabular statement, carefully prepared, which will show at a glance the facts I wish to convey:

	Free population.	No. of colleges.	No. of profes's	No. of students.	Volumes in library.	Alumni.
Virginia.....	949,133	10	72	1,206	65,875	6,469
Massachusetts.....	994,514	4	74	927	137,963	9,219
Difference.....	45,381	6	2	279	72,088	2,730

From an inspection of this table it will be perceived that

Virginia, with a free population* less by 45,381, has six colleges more than Massachusetts and educates annually 279 more students. This, of course, does not settle the fact conclusively that more Virginians receive a university education than Massachusetts men; but there are other means of information which throw light upon that particular point, namely, the catalogues of the colleges themselves. I have not been able to procure all these catalogues, which, however, is not of great importance, but I have carefully examined those of Harvard and of the University of Virginia, the principal institutions of both States. I find that of the 339 students of the former, 92 are from States other than Massachusetts, leaving 247 as the number of natives and citizens. The catalogue of 1853-'54 gives 464 as the number of students at the University of Virginia, and 289 as the number of Virginians; but the recently published statement before mentioned gives 505 as the number of students for 1854-'55, (the corresponding academical year of Harvard above used,) and it surely would not be unfair to estimate 310 as the number of Virginians. With regard to the smaller institutions in both States, the great majority of students are certainly from the States in which the colleges are located. I find from the catalogue of the college at Richmond that there are only two students who are not Virginians, from that of William and Mary about ten, and I presume that the proportion is not greatly different in the other colleges, not only from the partial examination I have been able to make, but as well from the fact that naturally students from other States would only be sent to the more distinguished institutions. At all events I do no injustice to Massachusetts by making the same presumption in her favor as in the case of Virginia, unless Massachusetts men may choose to say that the colleges in Virginia, being of a superior character to those in Massachusetts, attract more students from a distance.

The above table shows a greater number of alumni and a larger number of volumes in the college libraries in Massachusetts. This, however, results in part and chiefly, without doubt, from the greater age of the northern institutions; for

* Of the above population, in Virginia 53,829 are free negroes, and in Massachusetts only 8,795, or more than 6 to 1, which in a fair estimate ought properly to be deducted. But as the superiority of Virginia in this respect is sufficiently apparent without this deduction, we are content to leave the table as it is. So, too, with a regard to the number of students. In the Almanac from which the table is compiled, 50 is given as the number of students at Richmond College. In the catalogue in my possession 108 is given; at William and Mary only 55 students are estimated, and I have been informed by reliable authority that there was upwards of 100. This excess added to the column of "Students" at Virginia colleges will give 1,309 instead of 1,206, and will make the column of "Difference" 382 instead of 279.

libraries certainly are usually formed by the gradual accumulations of time. As to the alumni, a large proportion of them, it cannot be denied, are southern men, of whom a full share are Virginians; but on the other hand it will not seriously be asserted that a great number of northern men have been educated in Virginia. Besides this, no report of the alumni of *William and Mary*, the oldest of the southern institutions by many years, is included in the table. It cannot be considered unreasonable to estimate 15 graduates a year, which, for the 163 years of its existence, will give 2,445 as the number of its alumni. This subtracted from the column of "Difference" will leave 285 in favor of Massachusetts; which number may be still further diminished, even to zero probably, by deducting southern alumni.

Again, as to the character of the institutions themselves we of the south have no cause to fear a comparison. The University of Virginia, with regard to its organization, the thoroughness and extent of its course of study, the standing of its professors, the scholarship and eminence of its graduates, in proportion to its age, ranks at least in the public estimation with Harvard. Jefferson regarded the establishment of that institution as among the greatest of his public acts, and on his tomb is inscribed, by his own direction, "Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and founder of the University of Virginia." *William and Mary*, with the great minds which have been trained in its classic halls, imparting glory alike to their noble *alma mater*, and to the history of our common country, may well not dread any comparison with Amherst, "Williams," and "Holy Cross." The two other colleges of Massachusetts might be placed upon a level with the less eminent of the Virginia colleges, without injustice to either State.

In estimating the comparative value of the University of Virginia and of Harvard, as educational establishments, it may be, and probably is, that the "appliances" of the latter, such as larger philosophical and astronomical apparatus, greater number of professors and tutors, scholarships, endowments, prizes, &c., may be more complete. But this is to be attributed to the greater age of Harvard, it having been founded in 1636, and the University of Virginia in 1819. Notwithstanding this, however, we do not acknowledge any superiority, nor can any be proven, in the learning of its professors and the fullness and quality of the education there imparted. In short, no pre-eminence whatever will be conceded which is not solely ascribable to greater antiquity.

There is one other point connected with this subject, which must be gratifying to southern men, and that is the greater relative increase of southern institutions, particularly since 1850. In that year the number of students on the catalogues of Massachusetts colleges was 729, and on those of Virginia 878, the difference in favor of the latter then being only 139; the University of Virginia numbering 212 students and Harvard 273. This southern increase has been in consequence mainly of the withdrawing of southern youth from northern institutions on account of their abolition tendencies, which have produced a strong conviction in the southern mind of the necessity of educating their young men at home, and thereby building up their own institutions. For these results we may thank even so foul a thing as abolitionism. I trust, without meaning to express the slightest feeling of hostility towards the north, that it may make us more self-relying in other things, and build up other interests second only in importance to those of education.

The following simple tabular enumeration of the number of students at the principal colleges of the United States in 1850 and 1855 will show concisely, but conclusively, the extent of this relative increase:

	Yale.	Harvard.	University of Virginia.	University of N. Carolina.
1850.....	385	273	212	150
1855.....	443	339	505	270
Absolute increase	58	66	293	120
Increase per cent	17	24	137	80

So that, at the present time, the University of Virginia is the most prosperous, if the number of students and rate of increase during the half decade indicates prosperity, of all the institutions of the United States.

The statistics above given may easily be verified by any one who chooses to take the trouble to make the calculations for himself; and we might leave the subject here, with the conviction of having fully proved the proposition with which we set out, that university education is more general in the south than in the north, but it may be interesting to extend the comparison to the *professional schools* of the two sections. It will be found that on this point, too, great misconception prevails.

We will use Virginia and Massachusetts, as before, for the basis.

Below will be found a tabular statement which will present the whole subject in a single view:

	Theological.			Medical.			Law.		
	No. of institutions.	No. of professors.	No. of students.	No. of institutions.	No. of professors.	No. of students.	No. of institutions.	No. of professors.	No. of students.
Virginia.....	3	10	119	3	16	211	2	3	110
Massachusetts...	3	12	147	2	11	230	1	3	143
Difference.....	0	2	28	1	5	19	1	0	33

From this it will be observed that the number of schools and of professors of each kind is about the same in the two States, but that Massachusetts has *slightly* the advantage in number of students, but so *slightly* that the superiority is scarcely worthy of mention, and certainly is not sufficient to justify any loud boasting. In the above table, however, no return of the Winchester Medical School, in Virginia, is included, it being left blank in the American Almanac, whence I derive my information. If that institution has any students at all, it must surely have more than nineteen, (the tabular difference,) so that as regards medical schools, in number, number of professors, and of students, Virginia is in advance of Massachusetts.

I presume no one who has not made this investigation, (and but few have made it,) would have supposed that *Cavalier* Virginia was so little behind *Roundhead* Massachusetts in the means of even a theological education.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, I will take the liberty to make a similar very brief comparison between Virginia and (if New Yorkers will pardon the presumption) what they so boastfully call the GREAT State of New York. The latter has a free population of 3,097,394, or considerably more than three times that of Virginia. But how does the case stand with regard to *higher education*? Simply thus: New York has but 8 colleges, with 82 professors, 883 students, 6,371 alumni, and 55,000 volumes in college libraries; in every

single point, except number of professors, inferior to Virginia! I know that this will be a bitter pill for New Yorkers to swallow, who, *of course*, had not the remotest conception that the facts were as they are. They must fall back upon some other point of the fancied superiority of their "*great State*" to restore their complacency.

Although I have used Massachusetts and Virginia as the respective representatives of the north and south on this subject, yet similar results would appear if the comparison had been extended to the other States composing the two sections of the confederacy. I have not made a sufficiently minute examination to say certainly that the number of young men annually receiving a university education in the south is greater in gross than the number similarly educated at the north; but I do say, and can prove, that the proportion, according to population, is greater.

Having said thus, and having fortified my assertions with proofs which cannot be overthrown, I propose now to discuss university education generally, not enlarging upon, but merely presenting a few of the salient points of the subject.

There will be a difference of opinion, I presume, according as the views of men are more or less *democratic*, whether, on the one hand, it is better for a community that the mass of the people have a *smattering* of education, and none be very highly educated—or, as better expressed by Dr. Johnson, in homely, idiomatic English, whether "every man should have a mouthful of learning, and no man a bellyfull"—or, on the other hand, whether the interests of society are best subserved by having the few thoroughly educated, and allowing the many to remain in comparative ignorance. Certain it is that the minds of the great body of the inhabitants of a country cannot be highly cultivated, even if it were a thing desirable in itself. Nothing, in my opinion, is less to be coveted than that species of ha education which renders men arrogant and presuming, without communicating to them any solid advantages; which fosters and increases the vanity natural to the human heart, without at the same time encouraging a just and proper pride and self-reliance. I fear that much of the bad odor in which the American character is held abroad results from this very thing of imperfect education.

It will not be denied that the mass of a nation may be ignorant, yet the country itself may have attained the highest eminence in literature, science, arts, war, and statesmanship. It is necessary only to refer to England as an illustration. How stands New England literature and science, with all the boasted

intelligence of its *people*, with that of Old England, where the body of the people are confessedly ignorant? The former is simply *contemptible*, to use the mildest term truth will allow. This example, too, will illustrate, as regards the glory, honor, and reputation of a country, the advantages of the common school system of education, where the "many have a mouthful of learning" compared with the university system, where the "few have a bellyfull." Great Britain, undoubtedly, owes much of her greatness to her universities. Almost every character eminent in her history, in whatever department, literary, military, or political, was educated, either wholly or in part, in some one of these institutions. Bacon, Newton, and Locke, among philosophers; Jeremy Taylor, Hooker, Barrow, and South, among divines; Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Byron, Coleridge, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Southey, among poets; Addison, Johnson, and Steele, among essayists; Cromwell, Chatham, Pitt, and Fox, among statesmen and orators, and the countless host, to mention whom is only to enumerate the great men who have illustrated the annals of England, and imparted undying glory to her name, were all educated, most of them were graduated at either Cambridge or Oxford, to say nothing of other worthies, almost equally distinguished, who were educated at the Scotch or Irish universities. Shakspeare and Burns are the only two minds of pre-eminent excellence in English literature which did not have the benefit of a college training. So, too, with regard to our own country. The Adamases, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Randolph, the Pinckneys, of South Carolina, Webster, Calhoun, and others of our eminent statesmen, living and dead, were graduates of universities. In American history, too, we have the two illustrious names of Patrick Henry and Clay as the principal exceptions. In short, what is it that constitutes the greatness of a nation? Is it not chiefly the sum of the glorious deeds and labors of its distinguished sons in war, statesmanship, or the more quiet walks of literature and science? Blot out the names of its great men from the records of a country, and what remains to give it character and renown, or make its history worthy to be preserved? Surely the bare enumeration above given suffices to prove the value of a university education, and its superiority over a mere common school system.

There are those, I am aware, whose chosen theme it is to declaim upon the *democracy* of science and literature in this favored age, to undervalue all education and acquirements, unless they be of a *popular* character. To such I make no reply further than to say, I believe it self-evident that it is im-

possible, in the nature of things, for the multitude to attain to more than a very superficial acquaintance with the various departments of learning and knowledge. Science and literature are indebted for their triumphs to the few, and not to the many, and those few, in most cases, previously trained in the great establishments of learning.

If, then, one of the two systems of education—the common school or the university system—must prevail exclusively or even generally, (and we have already shown that where the former is of the greatest excellence it does not necessarily follow the latter too must be so, and that even one may exist without the other,) I repeat, if a choice between the two must be made, it seems to me that no man who has regard to the honor, reputation, and glory of his country, abroad and in future time, can hesitate to give preference to the university system. We, in the south, at least, who have not been so much carried away by the crude and radical theories of the times, can have no such hesitation. We have not yet arrived at the point of believing that our sires were fools and that we alone have attained the *summum bonum* in science, literature, art, and government. Such being our opinion, we cannot for a moment doubt the decided advantage we have obtained from the greater prevalence of the university system of education in our section of the country.

With regard to literature, there are only two branches in which the United States will favorably compare with the leading nations of the world, namely, the political (including oratory and diplomatic correspondence) and the theological. In these two, particularly the first, we have authors who may, without fear, be placed by the side of the most eminent of ancient or modern times. Chatham's magnificent eulogy upon the men composing and the papers issued by the first Continental Congress, is familiar to all. The political writings of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Calhoun, and Webster, have never been excelled. In theology we have Channing, Dwight, and Jonathan Edwards, of the latter of whom Sir James Mackintosh remarked: "His power of subtile argument was perhaps unmatched, certainly never surpassed among men." We will freely concede to the north greater distinction in theological literature, while we think it equally evident that the south has given to the country its most illustrious orators and political writers. And in *law*, Marshall, Pinkney, Wirt, Tucker, and Legaré, are names which, though rivalled, are not surpassed by those of Story, Parsons, Kent, and Wheaton.

As to what is called polite literature, with a few notable

exceptions, the farrago of trash with which the press of the country groans is scarcely worthy of remark—will certainly not be placed on a level with the contemporary literature of England, France, and Germany. Longfellow, Bryant, Halleck, and Poe, are clever versifiers, but surely cannot be called *great* poets, judged by any other than an American standard. But to call Emerson and Dawes, Dana and Whittier, *et id omne genus*, great writers, would be the grossest misnomer. If New England thinks she is entitled to any glory from having given birth to these worthies, she is welcome to it all. I believe that we have the germ of a literature which in the future may bud and blossom and ripen into good fruits; but, in God's name, let us not claim it now.

This article has grown to greater length than I anticipated when it was commenced, and though I have merely given a hurried glance at a few points of the fruitful theme, I must conclude it with the expression of the conviction, that a more minute examination would prove still more conclusively, that the southern States, to say the least, are on a full equality with the northern on the score of intelligence, education, and literature.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN LOUISIANA.

PART I.

In his opening speech before the first legislative council of the Territory that assembled in November, 1804, Governor Claiborne thus alludes to this subject: "In adverting to your primary duties, I have yet to suggest one, than which none can be more important or interesting. I mean some general provision for the education of youth. If we revere science for our own sake, or for the innumerable benefits she confers upon society; if we love our children and cherish the laudable ambition of being respected by posterity, let not this great duty be overlooked. Permit me to hope then, that, under your patronage, seminaries of learning will prosper, and the means of acquiring information be placed within the reach of each growing family. Under a free government every citizen has a country, because he partakes of the sovereignty, and may fill the highest offices. Free America will always present flattering prospects for talent and merit. Let exertions be made to rear up children in the paths of science and virtue, and to impress upon their tender hearts a love of civil and religious liberty. I deem it unnecessary to trouble you with any detail of arrangements. I am, however, persuaded that parsimonia u

plans will seldom succeed. My advice, therefore, is that your system be extensive and liberally supported."

Agreeably to the governor's recommendation, the council instituted "the University of Orleans," to be under the control of regents; the governor, the judges of the superior and district courts, the recorder of the city, and the president of the legislative council, were *ex officio* members; together with the following persons, whose places were from time to time to be filled by the legislature: Rev. Patrick Walsh, Paul Lanusse, Joseph Faurie, P. Derbigny, Lewis Kerr, Joseph Saul, Dr. Fortin, Dr. Robelot, Dr. Montegut, Dr. LeDuc, Dr. Dow, James Brown, Edward Livingston, James Workman, Evan Jones and Messrs. Boré and Destrehan. They were to elect from their number a chancellor and vice chancellor to preside over their meetings; the secretary and treasurer were chosen by ballot. The first object was the establishment of "the College of New Orleans," within the limits of the city, for the instruction of youth in the Greek, Latin, English, French and Spanish languages, as well as in the sciences, philosophy and literature; said college to be presided over and governed by a president and four professors, to be styled "the faculty of the college." In addition to this college, the regents were to establish as speedily as possible, in each county of the territory, one or more academies for the instruction of youth in the French and English languages, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and geography. To each of said academies the regents were to appoint "a discreet person duly qualified to be master thereof," and whose duty it was to instruct the pupils placed under his care according to the plan of education adopted and promulgated by the said regents. The act further provides that, "Whereas the prosperity of every State depends greatly on the education of the female sex, insomuch that the dignity of their condition is the strongest characteristic which distinguishes civilized from savage society, the said regents shall establish such a number of academies in this territory as they may judge fit, for the instruction of the female sex in the English and French languages, and in such branches of polite literature, and such liberal arts and accomplishments as may be suitable to the age and sex of the pupil."

In addition to these liberal provisions, the regents were to establish in each county of the territory a public library, to consist of the most approved standard works in the French and English languages.

For the establishment and support of the college, academies and public libraries, contemplated by the act, the annual sum

of fifty thousand dollars was appropriated, to be raised by two lotteries.

The regents and managers were required to "render an account of their proceedings at the next session of the legislature, after each drawing.

From the passage of the act of April, 1805, to the meeting of the legislative council, January, 1809, no report of the regents or managers is to be found. In the answer of the council committee to the speech of the governor at the opening of the session of 1809, the subject of education is thus alluded to: "A source of regret to all men of information and all good citizens, is the abandonment into which public education has continued to be left hitherto, notwithstanding the laudable efforts which have been made from time to time to organize it. It is to be hoped that another attempt may this year be attended with more success, and that the flourishing state of our finances may remove the principal obstacle which, on former occasions, rendered abortive all projects of this nature. The public money cannot be employed to better purposes than to lay the foundation of so indispensable an establishment."

By an act approved April 9, 1811, "a sum not exceeding thirty-nine thousand dollars was appropriated for instituting one college and schools in the territory, as follows, viz: Fifteen thousand dollars for instituting a college in New Orleans, and a sum not exceeding two thousand dollars for the institution of one or more schools in each of the counties of this territory, except in the county of New Orleans."

The regents of the university were required to purchase suitable lots and buildings for the use of the college, near enough to New Orleans to enable the children of said city and of its suburbs to go there as day scholars, fifty of whom were to be selected by the regents from the "poorest classes, and admitted gratis." By the fourth section of the act of 1811, a sum of three thousand dollars was annually appropriated for the support of the college of New Orleans for one year after it should be opened for the reception of students, and the sum of five hundred was appropriated to each of the county schools upon the same conditions.

At the following session, 1812, Mr. Lea, of the committee appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration the several laws relative to the university, made the following report: "Your committee, appointed to examine the several laws establishing a university in the State, and to inquire into the operations of the institution, report as follows: By referring to the books of the treasury, we find the sum of thirty-two thou-

sand dollars to have been already drawn, under the act of April 9, 1811, and that the sum of eight thousand dollars remains to be claimed, making the sum of forty thousand dollars before the institution, in the extent contemplated by the act, can be carried into operation, after which it will require the annual sum of nine thousand dollars to continue the establishment in operation. In order to justify this extraordinary expense, your committee are of opinion that the university should be organized on such principles as would answer an equitable distribution of its advantages to the poor, which they conceive cannot be obtained by the provisions of the act of April 9, 1811. The amount appropriated for each county is not sufficient to establish a number of schools to carry its advantages to every settlement, and afford an equal participation to the numerous poor. Those only in the neighborhood where the school is established, together with those who are able to board their children, can avail themselves of its benefits, while the poorer class, unable to send their children abroad, are shut out; thus the more wealthy, those who could and would educate their children without the aid of the State, reap its advantages, while the whole of society have to contribute to this appropriation.


[To be concluded next month.]

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